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Impact of employer-supported child care benefits on female union member's job satisfaction and mobility.

Phyllis Walt

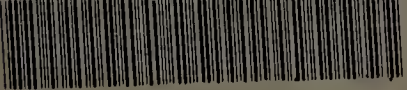
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**IMPACT OF EMPLOYER-SUPPORTED CHILD CARE BENEFITS ON
FEMALE UNION MEMBERS' JOB SATISFACTION AND MOBILITY**

A Dissertation Presented
by
PHYLLIS WALT

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

February, 1989

School of Education

Phyllis Walt

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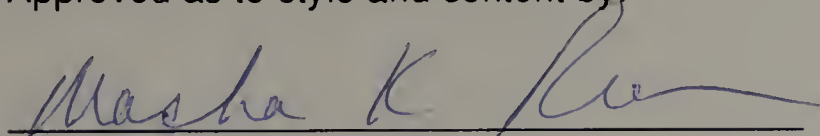
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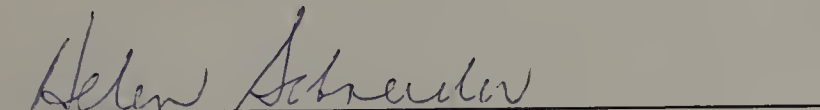
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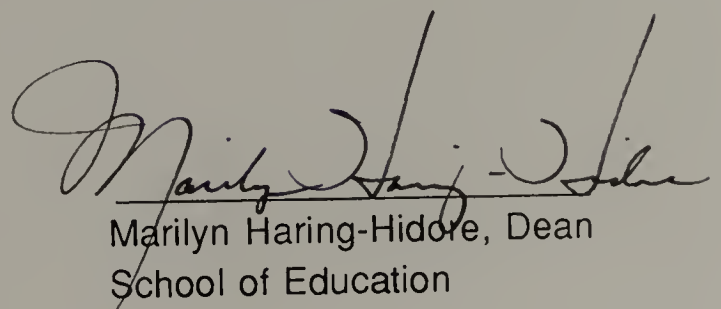
Masha Rudman, Chairperson

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Harvey Friedman", written over a horizontal line.

Harvey Friedman, Member

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Helen Schneider", written over a horizontal line.

Helen Schneider, Member

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School of Education

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A B S T R A C T

IMPACT OF EMPLOYER-SUPPORTED CHILD CARE BENEFITS ON FEMALE UNION MEMBERS' JOB SATISFACTION AND MOBILITY

FEBRUARY, 1989

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The dramatic increase in the numbers of American mothers currently in the workforce has exacerbated the demand for safe, affordable, quality child care. Working parents, federal and state government, and unions have turned to business and industry for assistance in support of child care benefits and family policies.

Little research has been done on the effect of corporate child care initiatives on the job satisfaction of workers, or the union's role in the obtainment of family-related benefits. Therefore the goals of this research were: to identify and analyze the impact of child care benefits on low and middle-income union women's job satisfaction and mobility; to investigate whether fewer child care benefits are offered by companies to lower-salaried workers; to research workers' perception of their union's activity on behalf of the obtainment of child care benefits; and to test the hypothesis that workers will support union efforts to

obtain child care benefits even if they will not directly benefit from those benefits.

A questionnaire was constructed and mailed to 400 members of two, national unions, using a systematic random sampling procedure. 140 questionnaires were completed and returned. In-depth interviews with a small sample of female employees at each of the unions studied, and telephone interviews to non-respondents added additional information.

Profiles of the critical characteristics of the female workers were constructed from the data gathered from the completed questionnaires, telephone interviews and in-person interviews. The typical union member surveyed was white, female, married, age 39.5, with at least one child, working for the same employer for over 10 years, with a family income of \$24,500. Most workers were low-salaried machine operators, secretaries and clerks, thus the study presents the child care experiences of low-income workers.

Workers reported child care benefits available in very few companies. There was little worker expectation of company or union support for family concerns, and a corresponding acceptance of the lack of family supports. Although job satisfaction went up when child care benefits were available, satisfaction with their employer was reported as relatively high in the absence of family-related benefits.

Results of the study indicate that workers with low salaries receive few child care benefits. The local unions were not perceived by respondents as active in negotiating for increased family benefits. The workers who had family-related benefits available to them reported significantly higher satisfaction with their company than those with no available child care benefits.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The dramatic increase in the numbers of American mothers currently in the workforce has exacerbated the demand for safe, affordable, quality child care. A majority of mothers with children under six (53% in 1986) are working out of the home, and these working mothers have 9.974 million children under six years of age (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics). Child care is labor intensive and thus expensive; it is necessary to find ways to make child care services accessible to low and moderate income families. Working parents, federal and state government, and unions have turned to business and industry for assistance in support of child care initiatives, both services and work/family policies. This study explores the realities of workplace child-related policies as experienced by two low-income populations.

Background of Problem

The United States workforce has been radically transformed since 1945, the end of World War II, when many women, having assumed the work roles of men absent during World War II, remained on the job instead of returning to the home as had been expected. The number of working women with children has risen dramatically since this period. In 1940, only 9% of the women with school-age children were working; by 1948, that figure had more than doubled to 20%, and by 1972, the figure was 50%. By 1982, 65% of the mothers of children under 18 (18.7 million mothers) were in the workforce. The most striking rise was among mothers of pre-school children: In 1948, 10% of these women were working. By 1960, the figure had risen to 19%; by 1971, to 30%; in 1983 47% of all children under six had working mothers (Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, 1984: 4).

If present trends continue as projected, the 1990's will see, for the first time, a majority (55%) of mothers with children under six in the workforce (Hofferth: 649). Currently only 11% of American families fit the "traditional" family of father at work and mother at home with the children (Waldman:14).

Five demographic changes have sharply impacted the business community and influenced changes in employer-sponsored benefits and personnel policies. Firstly, women have been the dominant component of labor-force growth during the past three decades. For every two men added to the working population since 1950, three women found jobs or were actively seeking work (The Conference Board, 1985). Motivated by the desire for income, careers, or both, women of all ages have added to the workforce at the rate of close to a million more workers each year since 1955. In another ten years, according to the U.S. Department of Labor, (1984), the labor force will be almost equally divided between men and women. The increasing independence of women is creating a desire for work as a source of personal satisfaction as well as for strictly financial necessity. In a 1981 survey (Harris, Lou, "General Mills American Family Report"), men and women were asked what reasons were important to their working. 90% of the men and 87% of the women cited a "personal sense of accomplishment."

Secondly, as previously mentioned the number of working mothers has risen dramatically in this period. The twenty years from 1970 to 1990 will indicate a radical shift in family child rearing patterns, with an 80% increase in the number of married mothers of children under six years of age who entered the workforce. In 1970, fewer than one third of all married mothers of children under six worked; in 1984, over half (52%) of mothers with children under six were working parents. Nearly three out of five mothers, almost 20 million, are working. Well over half of all children under 18 have mothers who work, and one child in five lives with only one parent - usually, though not always, a working mother (Kamerman, in Thomas, C.:4).

Thirdly, there has been a substantial increase in the population of children under six years old (a result of the maturation of the "baby boom" generation). The 1980's will see an increase of 17% in the under six population, from 19.6 million in 1980 to 22.9 million in 1990 (Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, 1985:3). This can be compared with a 6.5% decline in the under six population in the previous decade (Census Bureau, 1980). Current survey data show that all but 13% of women 18-34 years of age in the labor force expect to have children.

A fourth societal change is the steady increase in the proportion of children living with a single parent, usually the mother. The population of children under ten from single-parent households is expected to rise by 48% between 1980 and 1990, (from 6 million to 8.9 million children) (Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families:4). About 5 million mothers and 700,000 fathers in today's labor force are single parents. In 1980, the percentage of single mothers in the labor force with children under six year of age, was over half (59%), and this number is projected to rise to 63% by 1990. This change translates into the reality of nearly one in four children under ten years of age who will live in a single parent household at the end of this decade (Kamerman, 1987: 16). Since it is expected that the vast majority of these households will be headed by a working parent, we can project steadily increasing demand for child care services of all kinds.

Lastly, approximately one-third of all mothers with babies under six months are working. On average, women now return from maternity leave within four months of childbirth, (Burtman, 1983), and 90% of today's female workers will become pregnant during their working life and return to work within one year after each birth (U.S. Department of Labor, 1982).

Statement of Problem

The convergence of these factors: the demographic shift towards increased childbearing, sharply increased maternal participation in the workforce and continued growth in the number of single-parent homes, has compounded the demand for child care services. These reasons, coupled with a current shortage in the availability of affordable, quality child care, has created a significant increase in the demand for support of child care services. Since child care is expensive¹, and working parents are no longer able to rely on the extended family for child care, it is necessary to find ways to make child care services accessible to low and moderate income families.

Special emphasis must be given to the cost of child care. The number of low-income children is expected to increase, due largely to the growing number of single-parent households which typically have a greater incidence of poverty. Sixty six percent of female-headed households with children under six live at poverty level (Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families, 1983). Most women don't earn a family-supportive salary. For instance in clerical work, a job held by over one-third of all working women, the average pay for female clericals is a little over \$12,000 a year. Three million full-time female clericals earn less than the government poverty threshold - around \$9,000. (Nussbaum, K., in *Work & Family*: 225). More women work part-time and they tend to enter and leave the work force more often than do men. This reduces their opportunities for advancement and job security. It also makes them ineligible for many employee benefits. (U.S. Department of Labor, 1978).

A report issued by the House of Representatives' Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families (1985) states that even if poverty rates declined

¹ D. Friedman reports (1985) that depending on geographic location child care costs from \$1500 to \$10,000 per year. In Boston costs range from \$30 to \$400 per week depending on type of care and the age of the child. The most costly care is for an in-home caregiver; the most expensive center-based care is for infants.

to 1979 (pre-recession) levels, the number of children under six living in poverty would increase by one million during this decade, from 3.9 million children living in poverty in 1980 to 4.9 million in 1990. This increase in numbers of children from poor families, coupled with the trend to higher maternal participation in the workforce indicates the urgency of the demand for affordable care.

Importantly, 26% of mothers of children under six not now working (1.7 million women) report that they would seek employment if affordable child care were available. Single mothers and low-income mothers find this a particularly acute problem. 45% of the single mothers surveyed in a study conducted by Martin O'Connell and Carolyn Rogers in 1982 (Bureau of the Census, 1983) indicated that an unmet need for child care kept them from looking for work; 36% of all mothers in families with incomes under \$15,000 indicated that they would seek employment if affordable care were available. Despite the fact that many of this population are undoubtedly receiving AFDC assistance these mothers would prefer to find appropriate child care and employment. Due to recent government cutbacks, fewer families are eligible for public child care assistance. By 1983, the Reagan Administration's budget cuts had reduced social service funding by 20%, eliminating child care for at least 150,000 low-income children (Friedman, 1983). Decreased funds to subsidize enrollment has caused many child care centers to close, creating problems for parents who pay the full cost of care.

If assistance in provision of child care services is not forthcoming, working parents will be forced to place children for care in centers that lower the quality and quantity of supervision, make inadequate informal arrangements, or, in some instances, leave children with no adult supervision. Such child care arrangements would place children at risk in terms of having their physical, emotional and educational needs met. This unavailability of affordable, quality

child care services affects companies in reduced productivity and retention of female employees.

Changes in work patterns, now the norm rather than the exception for women with young children, mean that demands for child care services, particularly for very young children and infants, are expected to continue to grow at a rapid rate in the coming decades. Yet the child care delivery system has already proven inadequate to meet current needs. Since, as the sociologist Sheila Kamerman has pointed out, "we are rapidly approaching the time when most preschoolers will be children of working mothers, as most school-age children already are", new solutions need to be sought to increase the supply of affordable care.

Corporate Support of Child Care Benefits

Faced with a high and rising demand for child care by an increasingly female and maternal laborforce, inadequate supports for working parents, and little governmental financial assistance, our society has now turned to the corporate sector for partnership in seeking solutions to the problems encountered by working parents with young children. Edward Zigler, in Day Care, Scientific and Social Policy Issues, argues that private industry holds the greatest potential for child care improvement. Shortages of trained personnel in high technology and service industries, a new breed of management, and the realization by family-oriented product companies that providing child care services is an important image-builder and recruitment tool has fueled a new generation of corporate interest in child care. While support for increased child care services can and is being sought from the community, state and federal government, and labor unions as well as employers, the changes in the demographics of the workforce have created a receptivity for positive corporate response to the problems faced by employee-parents.

Working parents, strengthened by their ever greater numbers and knowledge of prototypical corporate child care initiatives, are increasingly vocal in urging adoption of new company supports. And many executives in the public and private sector are beginning to realize that productivity, recruitment, labor-management relations, and organizational efficiency can be increased if their companies assist employees with their child care problems. A recent study of family-oriented corporate benefits by the Conference Board concluded that "as problems crop up at the workplace - such as difficulties in recruiting and retaining employees and deteriorating labor-management relations.....company policies are reviewed and modified in an attempt to solve them" and, as a result, "personnel policies, practices and benefits are constructed to attract, motivate and retain qualified workers who, it is hoped will reward their employers with high productivity and a strong dedication to their jobs" (Conference Board, 1985:15).

There has been a dramatic increase over the past few years in the number of employers offering child care supports at the workplace. Approximately 2,500 employers in the United States are currently providing some form of child care assistance, most of them concentrated in our high growth industries - high technology firms and the service sector, frequently banks, insurance companies and hospitals. These are firms that normally employ large numbers of women. Employers in these sectors of the economy are experiencing a labor demand and child care assistance is seen as a way to recruit and retain a productive workforce. Government agencies are encouraging augmented participation of the private sector as a partial solution to the heightened demand for affordable child care, which government is less willing to subsidize on its own (Burud, et al.: 5).

Despite the high failure rate for on-site child care centers in the 1960's and 1970's, new interest emerged in the late 1970's and early 80's and

sponsorship of other types of family-related benefits was explored. Some companies have increased the supply of child care available to their employees by establishing company centers, participating in consortiums, or supporting family day care networks. Others have increased the affordability of care by making contributions to local programs or by giving employees reimbursement for child care expenses. A growing number of firms have made child care more accessible through information and referral services. Many companies have instituted flexible benefit plans and DCAP programs to assist parents with child care financial arrangements. Through adjustable personnel policies such as flextime, compressed work weeks, job-sharing, and family leave time, companies have reduced the stress of difficult child care arrangements and many firms are beginning to offer some flexibility in work schedules and time off.

Friedman (1981) has summarized employer-supported child care benefits options functionally as :

1. The need for information about a) child care services in the community or b) general parenting issues to reduce stress from working/parenting responsibilities
2. The need for financial assistance in purchasing community services
3. The need for services where community supply is lacking
4. The need for time to help balance the dual responsibilities of family and work.

Support for these child care initiatives can be sought from community organizations, state and federal government, labor unions, and employers. However few studies have been attempted to ascertain whether particular family-related benefits are more attractive to specific employee cohorts. Fewer studies examine employer supported child care benefits along socio-economic lines. For instance do low-income women workers need direct financial

assistance with child care costs? Would women workers prefer flexibility in time off or work schedules, direct assistance with child care, or paid maternity leave? Do workers want their unions to make child care benefits a high priority item in collective bargaining (as compared with job security and salary maintenance)?

Union Support of Child Care Benefits

Changes are taking place within the nation's labor unions. Earlier union priorities did not include work/family problems. Mark Dudzic, president of Local 8-149 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union has said that "Unions traditionally have grown up addressing just the worker as an individual, not as a member of a family." (Work & Family:198). However the Collective Bargaining Forum, a group of leaders from labor and business, has recently defined the role of unions as existing to improve the standard of living of workers, to represent their members' varied work interests in dealings with employers, and to promote equity and social justice for all workers in society (U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1988).

Labor leaders currently feel that working conditions as expressed in the work/family responsibilities of union members can be improved through union efforts in contract negotiations, collective bargaining agreements, and joint labor-management committees. It is expected that unions will be increasingly forceful in demanding that employers strengthen their family-oriented policies and programs. The AFL-CIO, for instance, has urged affiliates to press for programs such as joint employer-union sponsored day care centers and establishment of flexible working hours to accommodate employees' need to care for children and other dependents (Work & Family: 4).

An enlarged group of union leaders are vocal in expressing the view that family issues must become a priority in the labor movement. Union

organizations such as the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), 9to5, National Association of Working Women, and District 65, United Auto Workers, have taken leadership positions in advocating for improved workplace child care policies. CLUW has published "Bargaining for Child Care"(1985) offering guidance to unions in negotiating for child care provisions and including model language and samples of specific contract provisions negotiated by labor unions. Mark Dudzic, President of Local 8-149, Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union, expresses it "If unions are to survive and grow, they must be responsive to the interests and concerns of their members. The conditions of work directly affect our members' personal and family life. We must develop programs to address family needs. This can best be done through collective action. Unions, representing the collective voice of workers, are by their very nature an appropriate institution to address work/family concerns." (Industrial Labor Relations Review, 1987: 18).

Increased union-management cooperation around work/family issues has, for instance, resulted in the formation of shopfloor committees to identify work/family problems and design and implement programs and policies to improve conditions. The work/family committees in Local 8-149 OCAW and in District 65 UAW have defined a three-pronged purpose: "1) to improve employer policies regarding the full range of issues affecting families (including work schedules, leave policies, and benefit packages); 2) to develop self-help activities which rank-and file members can carry out(for example, setting up an emergency child care network, running workshops on managing household finances, talking to children about drugs); 3) to make social service providers, school systems, and community organizations more aware of the needs of working-class families and to push for improved service delivery (for example, establishing sliding fees in child care centers and senior citizen homes; arranging parent-teacher conferences during non-work hours)" (Industrial Labor Relations Review, 1987: 19).

It would prove helpful to companies, unions and employees involved in negotiating contracts and initiating new benefits packages, to have data that indicated preferences for particular employer-sponsored family-related benefits or correlations between employer-sponsorship of child care benefits and employee job-satisfaction. The current study examines the kinds of supports some employers are providing, cites relevant examples from current practice, and considers the issues to be considered in union bargaining for employer supports for working parents.

A survey of the literature (Burud, 1984, Fernandez, 1986, Kammerman and Kahn, 1987), indicates that increasing numbers of employers are currently attempting to respond to their parent-workers' difficulties in balancing work and family responsibilities. These companies have an often confusing variety of benefits options from which to select those that best meet their corporate goals. Planning benefits and services that match the needs of employee populations and employers can be bewildering to managers and cause serious delays in initiation of benefits. Errors in this process result in a waste of company resources and failure to meet recruitment and productivity goals.

These family-related benefit and personnel policy options include changing current corporate policies related to workhours (flextime, compressed workweeks, part-time work, job sharing, personal days); changing corporate policies related to workplace (flexplace); improving benefit programs (flexible benefits, DCAP's, salary-reduction plans, flexible spending accounts, reimbursement programs, and maternity leave); offering child care supports (resource and referral services, support for community child care, consortiums, on-site child care, child care fairs); and family training and support (work and family seminars, working-parent networks, family activities). (Friedman, 1982)

Since employer-supported child care policies and benefits differ in terms of type, format, and services offered, the various child care benefits

found nationwide currently can be categorized as follows:

A. Flexible Work Schedule Policies

- a. flexible work hours
- b. compressed work weeks
- c. part-time work options
- d. job sharing
- e. personal days
- f. work-at-home
- g. extended maternity leave
- h. leave of absence

B. Flexible Benefit Plans

- i. flexible benefit plan (cafeteria plan)
- j. DCAP (dependent care assistance program)
- k. salary-reduction plan
- l. flexible spending accounts

C. Child Care Assistance

- m. information and referral program
- n. company support of community child care programs
- o. on-site child care
- p. consortium or collaborative child care
- q. reimbursement for child care expenses
- r. family day care network
- s. voucher program
- t. vendor program

D. Employee Counseling Services

- u. employee assistance and counseling
- v. work and family seminars

- w. child care information fair
- x. available child care consultant (Burud,1984; Adolf and Rose,1985).

Significance of the Study

The results of this study can provide considerable information about the child care benefits perceived as most helpful by low and middle-salaried union members as well as the current family-related benefit realities for some union workers. Since there is very little research that explores the contemporary union relationship to company provision of child care benefits this study provides valuable data regarding worker perceptions of their union's efforts to obtain child care benefits and to assess membership support for increased union activity in this area. Results will be shared with the Employee Benefits Directors of the unions studied, the Consortium of Labor Union Women and presented to the National Association for the Education of Young Children.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RESEARCH

The research review will be an examination of employer-supported child care benefits in terms of its historical perspective, contemporary corporate activities, government initiatives, and the role of labor unions. The contributions and relationships of each of these segments of society is relevant to this study. These areas are the basis for construction of the instrument which was developed to gather data for this dissertation.

Historical Perspective

Prior to the 19th century there was no organized child care for the children of working parents; indeed the concept was nonexistent. Women were expected to raise the children while producing marketable products in cottage industries. During the Industrial Revolution in England child labor was the rule, women and children as young as six working fourteen hour days, with child care services therefore unnecessary. Occasionally "dame schools", often conducted by elderly, uneducated, impoverished women, were operated to care for village children in frequently squalid, punitive conditions. Older children were a free source of child care when parents were at work. Women were needed to work in the factories, and, contrary to some expert opinion of today, it was not considered that mothers' working had a detrimental effect on their children. In fact, some experts claimed that a mother who was too available and too caring could actually harm her child's development (Fernandez: 6).

In the latter quarter of the 19th century compulsory school laws were enacted in England at a time when employment opportunities for women were on the increase. With older children required to attend school and out of their child care role, the need for a source of child care for lower class families

became acute. So the older children took the younger ones to school. It is estimated that 19,000 children under three years of age were in schools in England during the mid-1870's, and of those aged 3 - 5 the total number rose from 179,228 in 1870 to 1,428,597 in 1900 (Whitbread:45).

In the schools, these young children often became disruptive and were frequently tied onto their seats or placed in "pens". As school populations increased it was necessary to add on new classrooms, classrooms which immediately became overcrowded. Some attempt was made to include an educational component for each of the age groups. The baby class were instructed to speak clearly, to understand pictures, to recite the alphabet and to march to music. The 5 - 7 year olds began reading and manual tasks. It should be noted that often the "teacher" for 50 - 60 children was a 13 or 14 year old girl (Hewes,D.:4).

Middle and upper class English families of this period gave child care responsibility to the nanny and governess. A contemporary opinion was that a mother should not have to devote all her time to her children; she "mothered" at scheduled times. By 1851, there were 25,000 governesses in England. It is argued that the advances in women's rights were made possible because the time of educated women was sufficiently freed in this manner for them to perform "good works" (Vicinus, M. 1972: 3 - 19).

In America, beginning in New England, a tradition arose early to provide schooling for young children, either in dame schools or public schools. Reports from Boston, dated 1819, detailed the duties and responsibilities of the schoolmistress for children aged 4 - 7. There was a ratio of 40 children to one teacher, unless she had a daughter old enough to help out. In that case, the salary was increased slightly and 80 children were assigned to her care (Hewes: 5).

By the middle of the 19th century, New England had become heavily industrialized. Large areas were populated by recent immigrants from Europe,

with a heavy concentration from Ireland. The average life span for the Boston Irish at this time was 14 years. With one or two families per room and six to ten people per bed, there was little concern for child care outside the home. The depression of 1837 caused one third of the population to be unemployed, yet children aged 6 - 17 worked 11 hours or more, seven days a week, in mills, mines and factories. Children under six often spent these hours inside the mills with their mothers; it was commonly accepted that this kept them out of mischief. Concern for adequate working conditions (heating, lighting, and ventilation) was nonexistent. Missing a day's work for illness or any other reason was cause for automatic dismissal (Ehrenreich, B. and English, D., 1973: 16).

The gradual emergence of a middle class, a mid-19th century by-product of the Industrial Revolution, meant that in some instances men could support their families without the salary of their wives. As cheap immigrant labor became sufficient to fill available factory jobs, the idea emerged that a man, if he was a "real" man, had to work and support his family, and the proper role for a woman was to stay home and nurture, feed, and care for that family (Fernandez, 1986: 7).

A corollary of this belief was the theory that women who chose to work were damaging their children's development. It is interesting to note the 180 degree shift in public opinion in consort with the alteration of labor needs. There was still work available for women in offices and factories but it was considered a job, not a career, because the work was assumed to be temporary, to meet an emergency need for funds or to establish a nest egg for the future. Despite the reality that many immigrant and minority women were working many years to help support their families, women were not considered in a "career-track" and were made to understand that they were not to press for advancement, equal pay or men's jobs.

A few early prototypes of formal day care in America can be found early in the nineteenth century. The Boston Infant School, established in 1828, was intended to provide services to working parents and their children, and in 1854 two New York hospitals established day nurseries. These efforts were the result of private sponsorship (Robins: 29). During the Civil War when the men went off to the war and the women took their place in war-related and other industries (a pattern that was to repeat itself in each succeeding war) several day nurseries were organized. In 1863 a center was established in Philadelphia to take care of children whose mothers cleaned in the hospitals and manufactured soldiers' uniforms. When the war ended the nursery continued to receive federal funds to take care of the children of war widows seeking work (Lazar: 61).

The child care movement grew very slowly, with private philanthropy financing care for only a few of the children whose mothers supported families (Hewes: 45). Many children were abandoned or surrendered to asylums. In 1899 New York City cared for 15,000 children at an expense of over 1.5 million dollars (Whipple, G.N.M., 1928: 92).

As the 20th century neared, the waves of cheap immigrant labor, and the advance of machine technology began to displace young children from factory work and provide an abundance of cheap domestic help. Child labor laws were enacted. Because wages for many men were not adequate for family survival, women went to work too - at even lower wages. The neglect of young children, particularly by new immigrants from Northern Europe and Ireland, became a cause among those working for social progress and "charity societies" greatly expanded the numbers of day nursery programs. These philanthropic organizations viewed day care as an excellent vehicle for assimilating this "dangerous class" of children of foreigners. Moreover it was hoped that, with proper socialization, day nursery children would not depend on charity as they grew older (Roby: 31).

The working mother was considered, at best, unfortunate. Unless she was widowed, her husband was thought to be irresponsible, lazy or criminal. The charitable day nurseries attempted to place the mothers of their charges as laundresses or domestics, often for the same group of upper-class families who operated the day nurseries (Rothman: 20).

The rise of the Child Study movement, led by G. Stanley Hall and others, had begun to educate the public to the developmental needs of children. Yet the proliferation of new programs found many of such low standard that physicians and social agencies were justifiably critical of the programs. One commonly stated assumption was that provision of available child care encouraged women to enter industry and abandon their important mothering function. Various forms of family financial relief were investigated to enable mothers to remain at home. Establishment of mothers' funds was suggested, the precursor to Aid to Families with Dependent Children, but was considered appropriate only for widows who were the only support of their families (Hewes: 48).

In this same period a separate development created increased child care difficulties for mothers who needed to work. The Kindergarten movement inspired by the work of Friederich Froebel in Blankenburg, Germany, had taken hold in America with the establishment of tuition classes for upper class children and some philanthropic free schools. The first public kindergarten in the United States was begun in St. Louis in 1873 and signalled the gradual inclusion of Kindergartens in public schools. Formerly children as young as two (or younger siblings of enrollees) had been admitted to philanthropically sponsored Kindergartens by Froebelian teachers who often assumed the role of social workers. However public school laws now began to exclude children below the age of 6 for first grade or five for Kindergarten. This left many very young children without access to child care. In Los Angeles the situation was so critical that in 1917, a progressive Board of Education established day care in

the public schools. A 10 cents per day fee was fixed that almost covered expenses (Whipple: 90-91). This public support of child care services became a California tradition, unfortunately not duplicated by other, less enlightened, states.

One of the first industrial-based child care centers was the King Edward Nursery founded by John Swisher and Son in Jacksonville, Florida, in 1939. Children could stay 24 hours a day or go home. The monthly operating expenses for 75 children was \$18,000, of which the company paid five sixths and the balance was paid by the parents. According to company reports, "The benefits have been most satisfying in terms of mutual relations. There have been unforeseen and immediate gains in higher efficiency, lower costs and greater productivity." That company effort presaged many of today's corporate findings with regard to employee response to child care services (Hewes: 23).

The depression of the 1930's brought federal child care involvement. In 1933 the federal government allocated funds for what were called Emergency Nursery Schools and later, the WPA (Works Progress Administration) Nursery Schools for "children of needy, unemployed families or neglected or under privileged homes where preschool age children (would) benefit from the program offered." (Kerr, in Roby: 90). There were 2,393 such nursery schools in all parts of the country, financed with federal money. Local communities, through the public schools, contributed space, heat, light, etc. and administration and supervision. These depression-era nursery schools were not created primarily to serve the needs of young children or their parents but were part of the government's efforts to provide work for unemployed teachers. All the personnel, including teachers, nurses, social workers, cooks, janitors and clerical workers were to come from the relief rolls. The "nursery school teachers" were unemployed high school teachers, elementary school teachers,

and teachers of all the special subjects cut by financially hard pressed public school system (Hymes, 1975: 2).

At its peak, New Deal programs were serving 75,000 children to encourage public employment and stimulate the economy. The general feeling was that these schools did a good job. Children were well cared for from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. and served healthy food. Parents were pleased with the schools and for the first time many children, in all parts of the country, from all social classes, had access to early schooling (Hymes, 1975: 1-7). In the late 1930's, as the economy improved, these WPA Nursery Schools lost federal funds and rapidly disappeared.

The next massive federal expenditure on group programs for young children occurred during World War II. In the effort to meet "manpower" needs and to entice mothers into defense occupations, child care programs were established in the summer of 1942 with the federal Lanham Act funds. Under this act the federal government provided 50 percent matching federal grants to states to provide child care facilities for the young children of war-working mothers. The first center was established at the Kaiser Shipbuilding yards in Portland, Oregon. At the peak of the Lanham Child Care Center program in 1945, over 100,000 young children were enrolled in over 3000 federally funded child care centers and employers were advised to encourage their use. By the end of WW II \$51 million had been spent for the construction and operation of the centers (Robins: 33).

Under the guidance of the U.S Children's Bureau these programs received mixed evaluations from the educational community. Bureau officials, along with many child care professionals of that era, were at best ambivalent about the idea of women working outside the home, even on behalf of the war effort, and they certainly had no intention of encouraging the employment of women on a permanent basis. They were fearful about the message such

programs might communicate to women. The government, they warned, certainly did not want to suggest that it approved of women working. (Rothman: 42). Using rotating staffs, the centers were in operation 24 hours per day, 364 days per year, provided meals for the children and their working parents, beds for sleeping children, and bathed and dressed children as well as cared for their educational and emotional needs. Kaiser boasted that child care made possible over a million and a quarter hours of production in one year (Hymes: 9).

Under the Lanham Act New York City was not defined by the federal government as a "war impact area", and thus was not eligible for Lanham Act support. Thus New York passed the Moffet Act that allowed for the creation of day care programs through a combination of city and state funds and parent fees.

In 1945 the Federal Works Agency closed the child care centers. During the war women were encouraged to work in offices and factories as national "service" since men were unavailable to fill the jobs, but at the war's end they were urged to go back home to make room in the laborforce for returning veterans. As in the 1920's, postwar economics and values affirmed that the proper place for women was in the home. Similarly, in the Depression of the 1930's female workers were the first to be fired or laid off, so as not to deprive male head of households of their livelihoods. And under the New Deal, men received preference for WPA jobs, and single women, some lacking all other resources, were consigned to the bottom of the list (Rothman, 1978: 29).

When federal Lanham Act funding ceased in 1946, the California legislature adopted the principle of partial financial responsibility for the centers in California, the only state that did so. The parents of the children served paid fees based on a means test and a sliding fee scale. Until 1956 the Department of Education had to return to the legislature each legislative session to request continued funding for the programs. In 1956 the program was adopted as part

of the state budget and remains so today (Nolan, 1975: 48). Some local school districts supply additional support to state-supported day care centers through local taxes. California, with its long tradition of public support for child care services remains the only state to have continued these centers and stands today as an isolated example of organized governmental support for child care for children of working parents (Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, 1984:196).

The 1960's and 70's saw a shift in attitude towards working mothers; the greater numbers had made the phenomenon more respectable. The Commission on the Status of Women in 1963 recommended that additional child care facilities for working women of all income levels be established. In the same year a receptive President Kennedy recommended that \$4 million be made in grants to states to help establish local day care programs, this amount to be increased to \$10 million yearly thereafter (Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, 1965).

Federally funded (Title XX of the Social Security Act) child care centers to serve low-income families, increased in numbers during the 1970's. There were an estimated 11,342 in 1981, a significant jump from the 8,100 in the last national survey (Kamerman, in Thomas, 1986: 6).

The growing numbers of working middle class women were assisted with child care expenses through successive changes in federal income tax regulations granting tax credits and deductions for the expense of child care which, in effect, provided an indirect child care subsidy. The Revenue Acts of 1971, 75, 76, and 81 increasingly liberalized child care income tax provisions by reducing parents' gross income (and thus their federal income tax liability) by the cost of child care (Robins: 35). In addition to establishing tax credits for child care the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 exempted from taxable income any child care subsidy provided by an employer (Fernandez: 20).

Industry interest in child care was revived in 1967 when the Federal Government introduced legislation that allowed for the rapid tax amortization of capital expenses for on-site centers. A few companies (i.e. Avco Printing, Gerber Foods, Vanderbilt Shirts), assumed there were profits to be made in child care provision and moved in that direction. Other companies, such as Stride Rite Shoes, KLH, and Polaroid (all in Boston), were motivated by a sense of corporate social responsibility to provide child care. However of the eighteen on-site centers that existed in companies during the 1960's and early 1970's, fifteen closed, due largely to underutilization and company bankruptcy (Perry: 37).

In times of war, therefore, child care has been perceived as a public good and supported with government funds. Postwar prosperity has meant the loss of federal support as evidenced in the 1920's and 50's. During periods of economic hardship and high unemployment day care has been used as a direct source of employment as in the New Deal programs of the 1930's and the Head Start programs of the 60's. During times of rapid immigration child care has been used as a vehicle of child and parent socialization as in the late 1800's and the 1960's (Robins:35). Labor shortages of the late 1980's have spurred a resurgence of interest in child care.

In summary, the situation at the beginning of the 20th century was definitely not a good one in terms of meeting the child care needs of working parents and their young children. Nearly 100 years later it has not changed substantially despite vastly expanded knowledge of child development and awareness of educational needs. Too often children remain in the modern equivalent of dame schools, in which there is some chance of a warm and positive environment, but just as much possibility of one that is harsh, abusive or sterile. With little governmental financial support, centers are forced to pay teachers inadequate wages, thus severely limiting the pool of trained staff people, and centers must cut down on both the number of staff present and the

quality of programs. Inadequate governmental supervision and lack of funds results in many examples of abuse and negligence. The next few years will determine whether today's economic and sociological forces are sufficiently powerful to shift the burden of child care support for working parents to the corporate sector.

Need for Child Care in Massachusetts

In local communities, both formal and informal child care arrangements are utilized by working parents, often a combination of both. Formal caregiving arrangements include family day care (in which an individual cares for up to six children in her home); center-based day care and after-school care in community settings; nursery or pre-schools, often half a day in length. Informal arrangements include babysitters, family members (increasingly unavailable for child care), neighbors, and, in about a third of all homes with children between 6 and 13, the use of latchkeys. On the average parents use combinations of four different child care arrangements each week to meet their needs (Friedman, D., Child Care Matters at the Workplace).

With 160,000 new jobs in Massachusetts in 1984 alone, the state has been in the midst of an employment leap, with women with children under six supplying a large part of the increased workforce (Murphy, 1985). The increased use of child care has created a demand for child care services far exceeding the supply. Only half of the parents seeking child care find the kind of care they prefer. Certain types of child care, such as care for infants and toddlers, for handicapped children and subsidized care, are in particularly short supply. Odd-hour child care - early mornings, evenings, or weekends, is difficult to find.

In the area just west of Boston, known as the Route 128 high technology belt as well as the MetroWest area, there is a diversified economy, a recent

pattern of expansion, and employment at 97% of capacity. Using Framingham, a city of 66,000 people, as the hub of an area with a population of 235,000, including the communities of Natick, Marlborough, Ashland, Holliston, Hopkinton, Hudson, Northboro, Southboro, Sherborn, Sudbury, Wayland, and Westboro, we can examine some of the data and requests for service (Metrowest Chamber of Commerce, 1986). The 1980 Census data offers the following relevant information:

- There are 70,000 residents under the age of 18.
- There are 14,000 residents under the age of 5.
- 4,490 households with one or more persons under the age of 18 were headed by women.
- More than 12,000 mothers with children under 6 were in the work force.
- About 1% of the area's population is black and about 1% of Spanish origin, with a large proportion of these groups in Framingham, Natick, Marlboro, and Hudson. In addition, there are smaller numbers that are significant of Asian Indians, Chinese, etc.

Calls to the South Middlesex Office for Children regarding day care were documented by that office from June to December, 1984. Over 500 requests for information were documented, with over half requesting information on care for infants and toddlers. Previous to July 1, 1984, day care information was recorded by the Office for Children in only one category. As of July 1, 1984, requests for information were broken down into family day care, pre-school, infant/toddler, after-school and baby-sitting.

<u>Calendar Year</u>	<u>Day Care Information Requests</u>
1979	245
1980	300
1981	412

1982	427
1983	818

From January through June in 1984, there were 780 Day Care Information requests.

From July through September of 1984, the requests were for the following types of care:

	<u>July</u>	<u>August</u>	<u>September</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Family Day Care	65	96	120	281
Infant/Toddler	1	22	13	36
Pre-School	19	29	56	104
Before/After School	0	0	1	1
Babysitting	0	4	2	<u>6</u>
				428

In the MetroWest service area 60% of families have both parents working, but only one-third of families needing day care are able to find quality care at a price they can afford. There are long waiting lists for day care, with an average wait of six months to one year with infant/toddler care being the most difficult to arrange (Metrowest Chamber of Commerce, 1986).

Areas with high employment rates are beginning to see employer-assisted child care as an important recruiting and retention tool. In June of 1985, the Metrowest Chamber of Commerce, Framingham, responded to the request of five corporations located in the Framingham Industrial Park, (Bose Corporation, Prime Computer, Consolidated Group Trust, The Middlesex News, and Integrated Genetics), to conduct a Needs Assessment to determine the most appropriate corporate response to employee child care needs. A Child

Care Survey was distributed to 1,610 employees of the companies and 797 surveys were returned, a response rate of 49.5%. The respondents reported 253 children under 6 years of age, with 187 falling in the infant and toddler age. 260 responding employees anticipated having children in the next two years. The numbers indicate that families are growing and that on-site child care can be a determining factor in staying with the company, particularly infant/toddler care which is almost nonexistent in the community. A significant number of employees (315) indicated that care close to work was very important or Important to them, and 347 reported that the training or experience of the caregivers was very important.

Analysis of the survey indicated several important points, notably:

1. Employees were very pleased that the company was involved in the study and were happy to be asked to respond.
2. Employee reaction is positive towards establishment of a near or on-site center.
3. Male response showed high interest, indicating child care is becoming a family issue, rather than a woman's issue.
4. Many employees with no child care needs wanted the company to know that they are in favor of a child care center even though it doesn't immediately affect them.

A most interesting response to the survey was the number of personal comments offered by employees. While it is impossible to include more than a few in this paper they do provide a sense of the significance of the child care issue to working parents.

"Please make this happen! It is a necessity for two career families. This would make Bose a better company in many ways, and improve the quality of life for many employees. Thanks so much for considering this!!"

"Working couples are faced with a tough economy trying to afford a home (rent or buy) and afford care of their children. It is difficult enough to make the

decision to place a child in "day care", but to have the continual worry about the child's well-being is taxing to say the least on a parent, while they attempt to work and bring home the bacon. Close affordable quality day care is scarce... Let's get better care together now!"

A father writes: "I would certainly want to use a child care facility within the Industrial Park. I frankly find it hard to believe a center such as this has not already been established, as the advantages to be gained by the companies in terms of increased security and working hours by employed parents would more than compensate for the cost of operation."

"Availability of affordable day care nearby will play a huge role in my decision to return to the company after delivery in August. I think it is time for business in this country to realize the significance of this problem and that their female employees can't solve it alone/ We should catch up with the child care policies of other nations and realize that productivity really will benefit."

"The need for child care facilities near to the workplace is reaching crisis proportions. Each day we lose viable candidates because of day care problems."

"If I can't find suitable child care I will have to quit my job."

"I have been a single parent for 13 years and would have been a much more productive employee for the 11 years I have been employed if I had had a reliable day care program that was affordable. Often, I had to leave work early or come in late because of sitter problems or illness.. Subsidized day care would have been a terrific Benefit since the costs today are equal to 1/3 my salary."

The Metrowest Child Care Resource Network (MCCRN) reports that corporate attendance at informational child care meetings which they sponsor is high, with representatives reporting that their companies are seriously examining various child care options. In this area, with only 1% unemployment,

corporations needing to attract and retain female employees are beginning to perceive child care benefits as a workable option (MCCRN, meeting report, October 1987).

In Massachusetts employers have taken nationwide leadership in provision of child care services. Wang Laboratories provides a child care center serving 90 children and a summer camp for elementary school-age children. Polaroid provides a child care subsidy to lower-income employees through a voucher program. Prime Computer and GenRad have published parent handbooks listing resources for child care, and Mitre has developed a resource directory. Howard Johnson in Quincy, Flatley Company in Braintree, Grieco Brothers in Lawrence, and Hale and Dorr in Boston, have recently opened on-site centers. Honeywell is currently computerizing information with regard to child care services for its employees. The Metrowest Chamber of Commerce has coordinated a needs assessment of five high technology firms in the area in order to match employee needs with company efforts. Prospect Hill Children's Center provides child care as a consortium to companies in the Waltham area. New public/private partnerships have enabled child care centers to be established in Worcester and Boston. Sick child care for children with non-acute illnesses has been established in several area hospitals.

Employer-Supported Child Care

Employer-supported child care is currently attracting massive amounts of media attention as a potential means of addressing the child care dilemma. Government agencies are encouraging augmented participation of the private sector as a partial solution to the heightened demand for affordable child care (Bureau of National Affairs, 1986, House Select Committee on Children and Youth, 1984, 1986). Working parents and child care professionals see private industry as holding great potential for improvement in the amount and quality of child care. Corporate executives are beginning to examine whether

productivity, recruitment, and organizational efficiency could be increased if their companies were to help employees with their child care problems (Fernandez, 1986).

The prevailing corporate interest in sponsorship of child care is spurred by concern with labor supply, productivity, and efficient use of their workforce. Recruitment is a serious corporate concern, particularly in areas of low unemployment. The Massachusetts High Technology Council's 1981 survey of human resource needs projected that by 1983 28,880 new technical professionals, paraprofessionals, and assemblers and production operators would be needed; this number has since been exceeded. Retention is another employer goal. The turnover rate in the high tech industries is currently running between 35% (in large companies) and 59% (in smaller companies) (Rodgers and Rudman, 1982). These recruitment and turnover realities translate into high costs to corporations, since it costs between \$3,000 and \$6,000 to hire a technical professional with two to six years of experience in Massachusetts (MHTC, 1981). When the Bank of Boston examined their investment in the development of an assistant loan officer they found that \$200,000 was spent in recruitment, training, salary, and health and other benefits before that employee turned a profit for them (Izzi, 1985).

The National Employer Supported Child Care Project, (sponsored by the Administration for Children, Youth and Families), surveyed 415 firms who were actively supporting child care programs in 1982. Their data reports that in 65% of these companies child care benefits had a positive effect on turnover. 15% considered child care benefits more effective than three-fourths of the other turnover control methods they use. 62% considered child care more effective than half of the other turnover control methods they use. Among the 18 companies that had records that allowed them to compare the turnover rates of child care program users with the rates of other employees, employees who

used child care had turnover rates 25 percentage points lower than the overall work force (Burud, et al.: 22).

Depending on the size of the company, savings of between \$25,000 and \$2 million in turnover costs were realized for one year from the child care program's impact on turnover. The data related by the companies with reference to recruitment was equally dramatic. 85% reported that child care had a positive effect on recruitment, and 32% considered child care benefits more effective than three-fourths of the other recruitment incentives they use; 73% considered child care more effective than half of the other recruitment incentives they use. 10 companies estimated the dollar value of child care as a recruitment tool. Among these companies \$16,400 was the annual estimated savings in recruitment per company from child care's impact on two job categories targeted for recruitment. At one company 95% of job applicants applied to work at the company because of the child care program. At another company 20% of the previous recruitment effort was needed after the child care program was established (Burud, et al.: 22-26). To a lesser extent, corporations are concerned about affirmative action guidelines, reducing waste in benefit packages originally designed to meet the needs of men, and about the effects of high levels of stress among employees.

Several studies have found that companies that assist their employees with work and parental roles by providing child-related services, accrue a variety of benefits, including lower absenteeism, an increased work pool, lower turnover, and improved worker morale. Control Data, in Minneapolis, studied 90 employees over a twenty month period. When it contrasted the absenteeism rates of the same parents before and after they enrolled their children in an employer-sponsored center, it noted a reduction in absenteeism of 21.4%. When it compared workers who used the center with workers in similar positions who did not use the center, it reported a turnover rate in the former

group of 1.7% versus a 6.3% rate in the group of non-users (Control Data and the Northside Child Development Center, 1976).

A Texas-based manufacturer of pacemakers, Intermedics Corporation, reports that publicity about its child care center led to a sharply increased job application rate. During the first year of operation of its center (which serves 260 children of a 1,200 person work force), the plant turnover was reduced by 23%. One department with the company reported a savings of 15,000 hours in reduced absenteeism as a result of the center (Freedman and Baden, 1981: 29-31).

Another company, the Photo Corporation of America, reports reduced worker turnover and tardiness, increased overall morale, and enhanced recruitment as a result of its child care involvement. In a labor market with an unemployment rate of 2% to 3%, PCA claims its child care benefits strongly influence the 3,500 walk-in applicants it has per year (Photo Corporation of America brochure, undated).

Studies indicate that corporate child care efforts are viewed positively by sponsoring companies. In a 1978 survey of corporate-sponsored on-site centers, 88% claimed that they had increased their ability to attract employees, 72% reported lower absenteeism, 65% reported improved employee attitudes towards the company, 55% reported lower job turnover, and 36% felt they had improved community relations (Rodgers and Rudman, 1982).

Perry (1980), surveyed employers providing child care as to benefits accrued from its involvement. 108 employers replied, of which:

- *53 felt that it aided in the attraction of new employees;
- *49 cited lower absenteeism;
- *48 reported improved employee attitudes toward the employer;
- *48 felt that employee work attitudes improved;

*40 had received increased publicity;

*34 experienced lower job turnover.

Corporate expectations for the provision of child care benefits are changing. The Wall Street Journal predicted in 1981 that child care would be one of the fastest-growing employee benefits in the next decade, and a 1981 Harris poll found that over two-thirds (67%) of corporate human resource executives expected to provide child care assistance to employees within the next five years.

A 1981 survey of 374 major American corporations by Catalyst Career and Family Center revealed that 76% felt that companies are concerned about two-career family problems because they could affect recruitment, productivity, and corporate profits. The most striking findings were that, by a substantial margin, many corporations favored more innovative practices than they currently sponsor. While 37% currently have flexible work hours, 73% favor the practice. Regarding on-site child care: 1% have it, 20% favor it. On monetary support for child care facilities the ratio was 19% current to 54% favorable to the idea. The cafeteria approach to benefits, in which employees can trade-off one benefit for another, showed the most potential: 8% now offer it while 62% favor the practice. The next few years should show a narrowing of the gaps between employee needs and company practice (Catalyst Career and Family Center: 1981).

There has been a real and significant increase over the past few years in the number of employers responding to the pressures of demands from their workforce and the government. Employers have increased the supply of child care by establishing company centers or family day care home networks. They have increased its affordability by making contributions to local programs or by giving employees a child care reimbursement. They have made care more accessible through information or referral services. Through informational

programs they have helped employees be more informed child care consumers and parents. Through flexible personnel policies such as flextime, job-sharing, and family leave time they have reduced some of the need for child care.

Employer Options

Most employers have concerns about the cost of child care options and are seeking approaches to provide assistance at minimal expense. Since this is a fairly new, and rapidly developing field it would be helpful to examine these employer options in more detail. A brief discussion of each of the employer options and their relative costs is presented here.

Information Needs Parents need information about child care services in or near their community: costs, hours of operation, type of service provided, and assistance with ways to evaluate existing programs. Information must be up-to-date and centralized. This service is often called Information and Referral and it can vary from a simple listing, with pertinent data, of nearby child care agencies, to a computerized, comprehensive system, with counseling, to assist with decision making. A fairly widespread employee assistance service is the availability of a parent handbook to inform parents of existing care prototypes and advice on evaluating centers and caregivers. Variations of this type of service are the least expensive options available to employers and the most popular (Friedman, 1984).

Currently Information and Referral services appear to be the major choice of options among corporations. Employer support of Information and Referral services can provide employees with greater access to child care with more choices and the possibility of higher levels of quality in their choices. More than 500 companies, many in Massachusetts, have contracted with local information and referral agencies that maintain computerized lists of available child care services (Burud, et al.: 9)

An Information and Referral service can be a core function for an array of child-related activities. Run by the United Way or by private, nonprofit agencies, some provide on-site counseling, parenting seminars, distribute educational materials to inform employees about child care services, and initiate projects to stimulate the supply of family day care homes and centers. For example, after polling 1,200 employees in their Minneapolis facility, Honeywell, Inc., in Minneapolis, donated \$25,000 and staff time to help three non-profit day care agencies develop a computerized child care information network. The service collects, updates, and exchanges data on child care programs (Adolf and Rose: 32).

In California and Massachusetts the State government is attempting to offer some of these services through a network of state-funded Resource and Referral agencies. The Gillette Company and the New England Life Insurance Company of Boston contracted with the Child Care Resource Center in Cambridge, Massachusetts, for employee counseling and information by phone or in person. In Philadelphia, companies can contract with Child Care Systems, a for-profit company, for a packet which helps employees evaluate child care services and a personalized computer printout of suggested programs (Adolf and Rose: 32-33). In 1986 Massachusetts Office for Children began funding a regionalized statewide network of Information and Referral agencies in order to attempt to provide these types of services, largely to low-income families.

IBM has funded Work/Family Directions (located at Wheelock College, Boston) to identify local resource and referral programs for employees in its 200 plant sites. Through this program the company subsidizes local agencies to provide referrals and follow-up services for all IBM parents seeking child care. The corporation also allocated money to stimulate the supply of child care services so more parents can eventually be accommodated (Baden and Friedman: 61).

Steelcase, Inc. employs two child care specialists to help workers find appropriate community resources and conduct parenting workshops. Mills Memorial Hospital, Peninsula Hospital Medical Center and Sequoia Hospital in Burlingame, California, contract with the Expanded Child Care Referral Program of the Child Care Coordinating Council of San Mateo County for information, including evaluation of potential providers, follow-up to ensure appropriate placement, and recruitment of providers for odd-hours and weekend care (Burud, et al.: 113).

Parents frequently need assistance in reducing the stress and guilt often present when combining work and family life. The opportunity to meet others dealing with similar issues and to gain some coping skills is an informational service some companies are offering through parent education seminars, support groups, and discussion groups at the workplace. The Texas Institute for Families, for instance, offers Brown Bag Lunch Seminars in more than 25 companies, including Xerox, Levi Strauss, Southern Union Gas and J.C.Penney. By assisting working parents in a variety of parent-child areas of concern the seminars attempt to improve worker performance and concentration (Adolf and Rose: 64). Training of managers in the child care needs of employees is offered to M.B.A. students and spouses at the Harvard Business School in the Executive Family Seminar. Led by a psychiatrist, it prepares the manager of tomorrow for the complexities of combining family and career for self and employees.

Thus companies desiring to assist their employees with information needs regarding child care may:

- a. Develop a parent handbook or resource list
- b. Provide seminars for parents at the worksite
- c. Provide information and referral services.

Financial Needs Typically parents pay 9-11% of the total family budget for day care, the fourth largest budget item for the family, and less only than food, housing and taxes. (Morgan, 1980). The higher the income, the higher the price usually paid for child care. The Pittsburgh Child Care Network study (1984), found that 30% of all respondents ranked affordable child care as the major issue or concern in child care today, while 60% ranked affordable care among the three most important issues. Information from the ninety-six centers included in their survey indicated that 65% had applicants who could not be served because they were ineligible for subsidized care and unable to afford the private rates (Jones, et al., 1984).

Often parents just cannot afford the quality of child care they desire for their child. Infant/toddler care, in particular, is very expensive, typically costing \$150 - \$200 per week in the Boston area. At the lower end of the pay scale the cost presents an enormous problem. If the gross weekly pay at minimum wage is \$134, it is clear that center-based day care is priced out of the market for many families, and subsidized care is at a premium. Corporate subsidy of child care, enabling the purchase of quality care, is the service low and middle-income employees most frequently report that they desire (Fernandez: 159).

Employers can pay for a portion of the cost of child care through a voucher program. This system is usually designed to meet the needs of lower-income workers who have difficulty paying for the care they identify. Under this system all employees under a certain income level are eligible to have an agreed upon amount put toward the cost of the child care they choose. The amount is sometimes available on a sliding scale based on income. Polaroid Corporation, in Cambridge, pays a percentage of the cost of child care on a sliding scale for employees with incomes less than \$20,000. Approximately 125 out of 15,000 employees apply for this subsidy each year, and the average

number of children covered is 150 per year. Employees may choose any licensed or registered care they wish (Burud, et al.: 131).

Measurex Corporation, Cupertino, California, offers a \$100 per month stipend for child care as an incentive to return after maternity leave. Out of a female workforce of 250 to 350, between five and ten parents use the voucher each year. Zayre Corporation reimburses employees \$20 per week for any child care they choose for children five years old and under. A recent Conference Board survey found that fewer than 25 U.S. companies offer this direct form of financial assistance, which comes to about \$750 to \$1,000 per recipient per year (Friedman, 1985: 72).

Another arrangement that assists parents with financial payments for child care, while supporting community child care programs, is a vendor system. Employers purchase a number of spaces in an existing local program and sell these spaces back to the employee at a reduced cost, thereby insuring availability of care. An estimated 300 employers contract with profit-making centers that use discounts themselves as a marketing tool and a way to fill unused spaces. (An example of this type of center is KinderCare). Most of these programs offer a 10% discount; in about half the contracts, the employer contributes 10% of the fee as well (Friedman, 1986). A variation of this system is employer support of a community program. The Wesley Medical Center and Hospital in Wichita, Kansas, for instance, reserves fifty slots in the Wesley Children's Center for its employees. The hospital donates money and in-kind support of printing and publicity. Employee parents pay for child care through payroll reduction, and the center accommodates children until 12:30 a.m. (Burud, et al.: 140).

A variation in lieu of reimbursement or purchase of slots is a flexible spending account. In this arrangement employees may elect to have a portion of their salary set aside for child care costs; this sum then becomes nontaxable

income. The plan contains a basic benefit package, then creates a spending account for a variety of taxable and nontaxable benefits. The employee salary reduction lowers employers' costs as well by eliminating social security and unemployment expenses for the amount of salaries reduced (Burud, et al.: 133).

Chemical Bank contributes \$300 per employee to a flexible spending account that includes child care assistance that can be augmented with up to \$5000 in salary reduction. In 1984 child care accounted for nearly 2% of all the bank's employee benefit choices and 8.7% of reimbursement dollars available from its benefit programs, totalling \$518,053 for child care assistance (Friedman, 1986). Other companies that have established flexible spending accounts are Mellon Bank, Harvard University, and PepsiCo.

About 2,000 employers (less than 20 percent of U.S. companies) now provide flexible benefit plans, which let employees choose among an array of benefits. But a survey by Louis Harris in 1985 of 1253 employees, 1250 benefits officers, 200 senior executives, and 200 senior human resource managers at a cross-section of companies with 500 or more employees indicated that significant growth in the number of plans is expected in the next two years. The survey revealed that 65% of the employees like flexible benefits a lot because they offer choices, some of which may suit employees more than a standard benefit plan. Only 2 percent responded that they did not like it. Forty-nine percent of the employees who had some choice of benefits said they were very satisfied with their benefits, compared with 40 percent of those who had no choice of benefits. Interestingly, 55 percent of the employees who could choose benefits said they were very satisfied with their jobs, while only 45 percent of those with no options said they were very satisfied (Harris, 1985).

Employers like the plans because they let employers limit their contributions without alienating employees, since options give employees some control over the distribution of benefits dollars. Dependent care, including care

for children, elderly parents, and handicapped dependents, is a nontaxable benefit. The plans come under the jurisdiction of Section 125 of the Internal Revenue Code., which permits employees who participate in flexible benefit plans to be taxed only on compensation (as opposed to benefits) they actually choose to receive (Velleman, 1985). This is one of many options in plans offered by Educational Testing Service, American Can, Procter & Gamble, Steelcase, and Comerica.

A significant tax incentive available to employers is the Dependent Care Assistance Program (DCAP), established by the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 . Under this program employer assistance to employees for child care is not considered taxable income for the employee, and remains deductible by the employer. Eligible expenses are those paid for dependent children under the age of fifteen and cannot exceed \$2400 for one dependent or \$4800 for two or more. An employee may be able to exclude from taxable income as much as \$10,000 per year under a DCAP, resulting in great tax savings. Thus child care benefits now are categorized with other tax free benefits such as medical and dental plans, group life insurance, vacation, retirement and others. Individual employees only use child care benefits for a limited period of time, providing a benefit to the employee without the long term expense of other fringe benefits such as medical and dental insurance (Adolf and Rose: 61-63).

DCAP programs generally take one of three forms: 1. The employer can reimburse participating employees for their child care expenses; 2. The employer can make payments directly to providers of child care for children of employees; 3. The employer can establish a child care service for their employees (child care center, family day care, etc.). Under the reimbursement option, the employee may elect (for tax purposes) to reduce his or her salary by the amount of qualifying dependent care payments. (For example, an employee with a \$20,000 salary and \$5000 in dependent care reimbursement payments

in addition to the \$15,000 salary. This is known as a "salary reduction" arrangement (Adolf and Rose: 61).

While many employers prefer a salary reduction plan since the DCAP is thereby funded at not cost to the employer, there has been general reluctance to adopt this option in the absence of clear Internal Revenue Service regulations on the issue. The IRS has wavered between finding salary reduction DCAP's permissible and warning employers against them since they may be considered taxable income to the employee. There is legal opinion and considerable pressure to interpret the law in favor of nontaxability of salary reduction DCAP's; final rulings are expected shortly. Velleman anticipates that results from the new tax law "may put significantly more, rather than less, pressure on business to institute flexible plans, since if employees' benefits are taxed, they will want the right to choose and pay taxes only on the ones they need" (p.41). It is reasonable to assume that the use of flexible benefits plans in the workplace will become more frequent in the next few years.

Thus companies desirous of assisting their employees with financial help towards meeting child care costs may:

- a. Establish a voucher program
- b. Purchase slots in a community program
- c. Establish flexible spending accounts
- d. Establish a flexible benefits program (cafeteria plan)
- e. Establish a dependent care assistance program (DCAP)

Provision of Child Care Services

On-Site Centers In areas where there is an insufficient supply of adequate child care, employers may choose to establish a new child care center specifically designed for their workforce. This can be a tremendous resource to those parents using the service. The centers can conform exactly to the working hours that the employees need child care and can afford the parents an opportunity to visit children during lunch. Parents also are reassured that they

are close by in case of an emergency. Additionally, these centers could supply services currently unavailable in the community, such as infant and sick child care. Company-sponsored centers generate a positive image of the company in the community, stimulate job applications, and increase worker morale within the company (Burud, 1984, Adolf & Rose, 1985).

Parents can be involved with how the center is run, when centers are employer-sponsored. A parent at Southern New England Telephone likes the fact that the SNET child care center is not-for-profit. He says, "We really see a difference between this and the profit-oriented center we previously sent our son to. We feel that the quality of the staff and the curriculum is much higher. There is real concern for the kids, as opposed to concern for the longevity of the center. In our former situation, we always felt that whatever corners could be cut would, and you saw it in the areas of equipment, staff, snacks" (Wise, 1986). When companies consider child care options this is the one most likely to be initially preferred.

There are several ways employers can structure child care centers at the workplace. Programs may be a) company run, b) run by a non-profit, tax-exempt organization, or c) run by a for-profit organization.

Company-run Programs. Under U.S. Tax Code 501 (C)(3), an employer may establish a tax-exempt child care center and make contributions to it. It then must be open to community families as well as employee children (Adolf and Rose:36). The advantage to the company of this kind of program is that management can retain complete control over program operations, alter the program to meet changing workforce needs, and determine policy as to enrollment and charges to employees. Parents can have lunch with their children, breast-feed, administer medicine when necessary, and meet easily with teachers. Stride Rite Corporation began its first on-site program in 1971, and its success led to establishment of a second center in 1982. Employees

pay for the program according to a salary-based, sliding-fee scale, with the maximum fee \$65 per week. Hoffman-La Roche (New Jersey), and Hale and Dorr in Boston utilize this format.

The major concerns companies have about operating an on-site center are increased liability exposure, more company responsibility, less parental involvement, and the creation of an expectation of ongoing company support. The majority of companies that investigate this option decide against it because of affordability issues, or lack of suitability to employee commuting patterns, or the limited number of workers that would be served (Friedman, 1985).

Non-Profit Separate Organizations. This method of operation permits the employer to maintain a close company identity with the program while separating itself from ongoing program operations. It limits the responsibility for the center's solvency and other liabilities. Centers are usually operated by a separate, non-profit, tax-exempt organization whose board members include management representatives from the company. Corning Glass Works and Merck Pharmaceuticals provided the start-up funds for private, nonprofit centers, which rely on user fees to cover operating expenses. Wang Laboratories in Chelmsford is another example of this type of operation (Burud, et al.: 158).

For-profit Separate Organizations. Similar to the above, this method does not permit a tax-exempt status but clearly limits the employer's responsibilities and liabilities while retaining the positive public image. Some concern has been raised about the ability to monitor quality with this type of program since responsibility for policy is in the hands of a private operator. Cardiac Pacemakers of Minneapolis utilizes this type of operation. Kinder-Care, the largest profit-making chain of day care centers, runs several programs including those at Cigna Corporation, Campbell Soup Company, and Disney World (Burud, et al.: 158).

Consortium and Collaborative Approaches Companies may establish a consortium with other firms for providing child care services. A consortium can

be developed among employers in the same geographic area or among employers in the same industry (i.e., several hospitals). An obvious advantage to this type of operation is the spreading of initial start-up and running costs and the wider pool of employees who might take advantage of the service. Company support varies widely in terms of financial contributions to cover start-up costs and ongoing operation, as well as in-kind support such as legal and financial assistance. Any of the organizational models described above can be utilized by a consortium.

Examples of consortium child care include Broadcasters' Child Development Center, serving seven TV and radio stations in the Washington, D.C. area; Children's Village Day Care Center, Philadelphia, PA., a not-for-profit, tax-exempt organization operated by the Council for Revitalization of Employment and Industry in the Garment Industry; and Sunnyvale Child Care Service Center, San Jose, CA., organized to meet the technical manpower needs of Silicon Valley employers, which contracts with for-profit child care management groups. The Burbank, CA., Unified School District solicited \$10,000 in contributions from eight employers, among them Lockheed, NBC, Columbia Pictures, and Universal Studios, to renovate an empty school building for child care. In return each employer received 20 slots for its children (Adolf and Rose: 58-59).

Family Day Care Companies can help establish or maintain a network of family day care providers, community people who care for up to six children in their own home. Many parents prefer this option for its homelike setting, particularly for very young children. Family day care offers the advantages of proximity either to home or work, opportunity for flexibility in hours of care, care for children of various ages, and close, personal attention for infants or handicapped children. Companies can hire specialists to recruit, train, and support family day care providers in their employees' commuting area. St. Luke's Rush-

Presbyterian Medical Center, in Chicago, which has a 225-infant waiting list for its own on-site center, established a satellite system of family day care homes for which the hospital's center provides training and backup support for sick caregivers.(Burud, et al.: 179-181).

Care for School-age Children Companies can respond to the concerns of their employees about the safety and whereabouts of school-age children after school hours and on holidays. Businesses throughout the country have collaborated with hundreds of school districts and community agencies to use school premises to run before and after-school programs. The Houston Committee on Private Sector Initiatives coordinates funding from 30 companies to enable nonprofit agencies to offer after-school services in schools, churches, and storefronts. Several companies contribute to "warm lines", telephone services for children to use when they get home from school. Several companies offer summer and holiday programs. FelPro Industries of Skokie, Ill. operates a summer camp. 300 children, from 5.5 to 15 years of age, use the camp; parents pay \$90 for the entire nine-week program. The company reports that its turnover rate, which was 30 to 40% when the camp opened, is now under 10%. There is also a one to two year waiting list for employment at FelPro. Wang and 3M have also created summer day camps. These have proven particularly helpful to divorced parents having custody of children during the summer or holidays (Burud, et al.: 195).

Care for Sick Children Most parents have few alternatives when their children are sick but to call in sick themselves. Yet after the initial crisis period most children just need bed rest and parents could return to work if they had reliable coverage. A Berkeley, Calif., sick-child program has estimated that about 10,000 work days are lost to area employees yearly because of sick child-care. Companies can contract with a local agency that sends trained baby-sitters into the family home or stimulate the establishment of or referral to special family

day care homes where children no longer acutely ill or contagious could be cared for.

In Berkeley, Calif., a sick child program (Wheezles and Sneezles), has been in existence since 1973. Originally it dispatched trained health care workers to homes needing such care and served 500 to 600 homes yearly. When it lost supplemental funding the program shifted to a center model where parents can bring mildly ill children. The center can serve 10 to 11 ill preschoolers each day at a cost to the parent of up to \$3 per hour, depending on income (Adolf and Rose: 60). Hewlett-Packard and Levi-Strauss jointly established a 15-bed infirmary attached to a day care center in San Jose, AC. The 3M Company pays 70% of the \$6.25-per-hour charges for in-home nursing services for sick children offered by Children's Hospital in St. Paul, Minnesota (Burud, et al.: 36).

Companies can also address the important issue of personnel policies regarding the use of sick leave for the care of employees' children when they are ill. A study by Catalyst (1981) indicates that only 29% of companies provide days off for children's illness.

The Need for Time An analysis of the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey (Pleck, 1977) indicates that 35% of workers with children report that job and family "interfere" with each other. Interference occurs more frequently among workers who are parents than non-parents. This pull in competing areas of worker life causes feelings of guilt and stress which is reported to lower job performance. There are several alternative ways for employers to assist with need for time to meet family responsibilities. Greater flexibility in selecting work hours can enable parents to make more comfortable arrangements for child care either before or after school. Some changes in policy might include:

Flextime. Flexible work hours allow workers to choose the hours they arrive and the hours they leave, as long as they accumulate the prescribed

number of hours per day or week. In 1977 12.8% of all non-government organizations with 50 or more employees were using flextime. In a Social Security Administration experiment with flextime, 75% of female employees reported that it allowed them more time with their families even when there was no reduction in hours. Dr. Halcy Bohen's study of 700 people on flextime indicated that most workers loved the program, but that its impact on family life proved hard to measure (In Baden and Friedman: 90). Winnet found that people on flextime spent an additional 55 minutes per day with their families (Ibid: 91).

Part-time Work/Job Sharing. Part-time work is the preference of 51% of professional women (Harris, 1981). Between 1965 and 1977 the number of part-time workers increased three times as rapidly as the number of full-time workers. Most of the increase was among women. Shawmut Bank, in Boston, to meet their need for tellers, hired a workforce of mothers to work during the school year; students were hired to work during summers and other vacations.

Job sharing is a way for two part-time workers to share on full-time job. The Personnel Director position at Gould Biomation in California is shared by two part-time workers. Each director tape records activities of the day before going home. They have successfully managed this position for three years. Jan O' Rourke, a parent-employee of the Framingham, MA, public library, shared a librarian position since 1983. They feel the library benefits by having two professionals with varied backgrounds (O'Connor, 1986).

One difficulty in part-time work is in the prorating of employee benefits, since the costs of administration and provision of benefits is higher for part-time than for full-time employees.

Flexplace. Working at home is becoming more feasible as new technology enables greater home-office communication. The Continental Bank is conducting an experiment with residential word processors, installing them in employees' homes, that holds promise for working parents. (Burud, et al: 109).

Flexplace can be useful to workers who want or need to be at home more, whether with school-aged or younger children.

Parental Leave. 68% of mothers go back to work within four months of delivering birth. This is not surprising when one considers that only 40% of working women who give birth in the United States are entitled to a paid disability leave of six weeks or more (Kamerman and Kahn, 1983). More than half the companies in the Kamerman and Kahn study offered unpaid child care leaves of several months, but many made no guarantee about the type of job or salary the woman would return to after the leave. Partially paid child care leaves are rare. A protected period of leave following birth of a child with the guarantee of a job upon their return can help new parents adapt to new roles and prevent the loss of trained staff to the employer. One survey (Catalyst, 1986), indicates that one group of women do not want more time off than the six to eight weeks of paid leave already allotted them. Instead they would prefer to return to work on a part-time basis for a while. Several pieces of pending federal legislation are attempting to address this issue.

Burud (1984) emphasizes that any program under consideration by an employer must take into account the varied needs of its employee population; a thorough needs assessment is crucial to assist management in deciding whether to become involved in employer-supported child care and, if so, which programs would be most appropriate. The company must collect data and analyze their employee cohort as to present and anticipated child care needs and arrangements, since the planning to delivery of service process takes approximately two years. The personnel and human resource departments can provide projections about future recruitment requirements and labor force trends. Questions to ask are whether current employees are planning to have children within the next two years and whether employees are experiencing problems with finding child care, sick child care, vacation-care, or before or

after-school care. Will there be greater numbers of employees hired who are likely to have children? More single-parent workers? More women in full-time or part-time positions? More requests for paternity leave or time to care for sick children? It is important to estimate how long employees are expected to stay with the company because several firms with employer-supported programs have noted a tendency for employees to remain as long as their children are eligible for child care benefits or programs. The broader the age range served, the longer the employees remained with the company (Burud, et al. 51).

No single approach or corporate response to employee child care concerns is without its benefits and its disadvantages, and no one benefit will resolve all the problems faced by all working parents. Regardless of the option finally selected by the company to best meet the needs of its workforce and the budget, in general about 4% of the employees will utilize child care assistance provided by the employer (Bureau of National Affairs, 1984). This percentage supports company promulgation of cafeteria plans or multiple approaches, since the employee then has an opportunity to elect those options that answer his/her most critical needs.

Corporate Involvement

Although employers are increasingly responsive to the family-related needs of their employees, their level of involvement has not grown fast enough to solve the child care dilemma. The number of companies with child care services rose almost 300 percent between 1978 and 1982, from 105 company centers to 415 programs of all types. Although the total number of employers offering child care assistance is now estimated to number over 2500 (out of more than six million employers, remaining under 1% of all companies), this still represents only a fraction of the companies needed to make a significant impact on the child care problems faced by working parents (Burud, et al.: 5).

Since the health care industry comprises nearly half of all employer-supported programs (nearly 300 on-site day care centers, meeting the need for round-the-clock service for employees), and the others are largely concentrated in high technology firms, banks, and insurance companies, it is clear that many industries are just beginning to consider or are reluctant to consider offering child care services to their employees. Because there is little current demand for unskilled labor, for instance, there is little incentive for employers utilizing this workforce to expend company resources on developing new employee benefits. Small firms with fewer than 100 workers, in which 50% of American workers are employed, cannot afford new initiatives unless positive financial benefits are pretty much assured. Many companies doubt such assistance yields any real benefit to the corporation (Fernandez: 40).

In part, the limited involvement of companies in offering new child care benefits is due to a lack of information at the executive level about the nature of the problems facing working parents and the range of possible solutions. Employers may require assistance in understanding the needs of working parents and designing new policies and programs. According to John Fernandez, author of Child Care and Corporate Productivity "The higher you go in the corporate structure, the less likely are the department heads to want to provide some type of child care." In addition," he says, "there's the attitude, 'I didn't have any problems with child care, my wife stayed home. Why can't other people solve their child care problems?'" "I'd say that's the dominant opinion up there."

Historically, companies have expected a complete division between the company life and private life of employees. Personnel policies have been directed at the white male with wife and 2.2 children at home. Company expectations have been that the employee had a fair amount of flexibility in working hours, was able to travel and relocate and required a minimum amount

of assistance with his personal life. Leadership in the company and management expectations of employee styles are critical in determining corporate willingness to initiate family support programs. Younger executives often have a spouse in the workforce and some preschoolers in need of child care. This latter group is important if management is to move constructively to initiate child care policies; personal involvement may be reflected in company policies sympathetic to working parents. The president of the Institute for Scientific Information in Philadelphia, for example, experienced first-hand the difficulty of finding adequate day care for his young children during the 1960's. In 1982, he opened a \$1.5 million child care center for the children not only of ISI employees, but for other working parents in the community as well (Adolph and Rose: 17).

The success of any corporate-offered child care support is dependent upon accurately identifying employer and employee needs and creating a program that is compatible with both. Employee needs will not be identified unless they are perceived to be in the employer's self-interest. Reasons for self-interest may range from attracting appropriate employees to reducing turnover to improving the corporate image. An employee benefit will not work unless it adequately meets an employee need. For instance it is not useful to set up an on-site child care center when employees would rather be helped to use centers closer to their homes. The need for this employer/employee "match" suggests the importance of careful planning when contemplating child care involvement. A company often finds it useful to utilize the services of an outside specialist during the initial phases to counsel an internal child care task force or conduct a needs assessment.

Obstacles and Incentives for Employer Involvement

The confluence of societal changes and economic growth has created a climate currently favorable to corporate recognition of the need to establish

policies responsive to the needs of working employees. Corporate pressure for an expanded workforce may trigger a social transformation of enormous worth and significance. The fact that nearly 60 percent of the mothers of children under age 18 were employed in the fourth quarter of 1985 (The Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1986) is an indication of corporate need to address the needs of working parents.

Economic growth is the greatest incentive to employer support of family benefits, recession the most serious deterrent. If a critical mass of companies offering corporate child care benefits is established at this time of high employment, the movement will become self-perpetuating. When businesses can attract labor without difficulty not only is the company less motivated to offer new benefits but employees are not willing to jeopardize their jobs by communicating their child care needs to their employers. However once benefits are in place there is less likelihood that they will be withdrawn in times of fiscal restraints. The (1984) study of companies offering child care as an employee benefit conducted by the Bureau of National Affairs, revealed that the major motivation in the decision to provide employee assistance was to increase the firm's ability to attract talented employees. "Better personnel relations" and "improved workforce stability" ranked second and third, while "social consciousness and awareness" was fourth. Tax incentives, union pressure and pressure to follow examples of others all ranked low among the reported motivations.

One obstacle is that some executives recognize no clear economic justification for supporting child care services or policies. They are skeptical; productivity and other gains are difficult to document. They are concerned about potential problems: costs, insurance liability, parental concerns, quality control, and equity issues (Miller: 277). Yet many of these concerns are unfounded. Costs of involvement for referral services, partial subsidies or

personnel policy changes can be quite low. Companies can offer space, in-kind contributions like janitorial service or furniture or child care workshops. All child care costs are in some way tax deductible or expensed and several states offer special tax credits for employers who provide certain types of child care assistance.

There is concern within some companies about equity for nonparent employees and fear that if they help employees with young children, they are also obligated to help those who must care for older parents. Yet these concerns appear to be exaggerated. Of the thirty-five companies in the National Employer-Supported Child Care Project (Burud, et al., 1984) whose executives felt that equity would be a problem, only four companies (11%) actually found equity to be an issue with their employees. When child care benefits are available childless workers find they also benefit, through a reduction in absenteeism, tardiness and stress in their co-workers, and all employees don't use all benefits equally in any benefit package. Companies that offer flexible or cafeteria benefit plans enabling employees to choose specific benefits from a list of alternatives, also find concerns about equity are alleviated. Over 100 companies are currently offering a choice of benefit options to their employees and the number is growing.

Another obstacle to supportive child care policies is our historical ambivalence to women working outside the home and company resistance to involvement with the "personal family issues" of child care or family/work conflicts. Quotes from the 1986 survey by Fernandez (1986: 41-42) illustrate this attitude, expressed by three white male managers:

"Just as the company promotes promiscuity among females and not males by providing maternity benefits to the unmarried women, child care assistance would reduce the responsibilities of parenting to a point that kids became a by-product of 8-to-5. Kids require parents; their care is a responsibility of the parent, not the company!"

"Women's place is in the home to care for the family. Men's place is work to bring home the money."

"The two-income household is destroying the traditional family unit. Do men a favor - read Dr. James Dobson's books!!!!"

Fernandez argues that the main reason for corporate failure to respond to employee child care problems is corporate dominance by older men emanating from traditional, sexist family role models, who still believe, consciously or unconsciously that women's place is at home, taking care of their family. They believe that women who insist upon working must simply accept as their responsibility the need to resolve child care and family/work problems. A variant on this problem is the reluctance of many employees (particularly women and lower-wage earning employees) to express family concerns at the workplace. Acquisition of a "good job", particularly among low-income women, may appear so difficult that employees fear to jeopardize their position by seeming "pushy". Public awareness of management need to attract and retain a competent workforce and dissemination of information about new company initiatives involving child care should help to create a climate of corporate acceptance of employee family concerns.

News about the closing of child care centers may impede direct employer involvement in provision of child care. Factors leading to the closing of corporate-supported child care centers usually involve underutilization or inadequate fiscal planning (Friedman, 1983). Companies need to be educated to the importance of the careful planning required in selecting and establishing child care options. Few employers need to start their own programs and there are a myriad of other mechanisms through which they can provide employee assistance. The field of corporate child care supports is in an educational phase; employers need information about work and family issues and the range

of solutions to recognized problems. The early childhood education community needs education about ways to market their services and reduce their dependency on public and private resources. Government agencies and colleges are in a unique position to educate both sectors to the issues, preserving the strength of existing developmental systems, respecting parental preferences, and assuring some benefit to those in the greatest need.

Government Initiatives

Dwindling state and federal child care funds, coupled with the increasing need for child care resources provide incentives for current federal and state government efforts to stimulate business, labor, and industry involvement in child care. Governmental social service cutbacks mean that fewer families are eligible for public assistance with child care expenses. The Reagan Administration's budget cuts have cut social service funding by 20%, eliminating child care for at least 150,000 low-income children (Friedman, 1983). The reduced subsidized enrollment has caused many child care centers to close, creating problems for parents who pay the full cost of care as well. For these reasons, government agencies are strongly encouraging greater employer involvement in supporting the child care needs of employees.

Federal and state government, through its regulatory, legislative, grant-making, and public information functions, already plays an important, though indirect, role in encouraging and facilitating the supply of quality care for the children of working parents. Provisions of the tax code, for instance, are intended to provide assistance to families in meeting child care expenses and employers in offering child care assistance to their employees. The dependent care assistance program (DCAP) described in section IV provides a tax credit targeted to provide greater assistance to families with low or moderate incomes. The Internal Revenue Service also provides a refundable child care tax credit, the earned income tax credit (EITC), for working parents with dependent

children. This tax credit, known to few parents, is often avoided even when known due to taxpayer reluctance to deal with the IRS (Friedman, 1983).

Through its grant-making function, (i.e. Administration for Children, Youth and Families) governments are supporting colleges and community agencies in dissemination of information through providing meetings, conferences, brochures, and resources so that employers can learn about work and family issues. One long range benefit from these activities is that the agencies, speakers and participants have the opportunity to create networks that endure beyond the meeting or conference dates.

Business tax incentives are the principal mechanism with which the federal government could encourage greater employer participation in child care. In his 1984 State of the Union address, President Reagan alluded to the need for federal legislation encouraging corporations to respond to their employees' child care problems. Despite some legislative attempts, however, no federal legislation or monies has appeared to encourage corporate provision of child care options. At the state level, Connecticut has become the first state in the country to offer tax credits to companies which support their employee's child care expenses. State corporations are allowed an income tax credit equal to 25% of total expenditures for planning, site preparation, construction, and renovation of facilities that will be used primarily for the child care needs of their employees (Fernandez: 21). California allows employers to take accelerated depreciation for investments in child care facilities that are built and operated according to state standards.

A comprehensive report prepared for the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families, of the House of Representatives, by the Congressional Budget Office (1983), suggested that changes in the federal tax laws might increase the availability of part-time employment, thus reducing the need for formal child care. One barrier to women seeking part-time employment is loss

of benefits, such as employer contributions to health insurance and pension plans. Such employer contributions are currently deductible from an employee's taxable income, and deductibility could be made contingent on offering a pro-rated benefit package to part-time employees. For example deductibility could be made contingent on offering all employees working at least 20 hours a week, benefits comparable to those of full-time workers, with the employers's contribution proportional to hours worked by each employee.

Another proposal offered in the Budget Office Report is a change in the present tax practice of deducting employer's child care contributions as business expenses. Instead they offer the idea of a tax credit that would allow employers to claim a specified percentage of incurred child care expenditures against their tax liability. In order to provide a greater benefit than employers can already realize through deductible child care costs this would have to be a generous tax credit but it would thereby increase the associated revenue loss to the government. The report cautions that the credit would need to be available for partial as well as full subsidies of employees' child care expenses, since partial subsidies are the norm in employer-sponsored arrangements.

In order to provide employers with flexibility in designing programs to meet their employees' child care needs the report suggests the IRS use a broad definition of allowable employer-supported child care expenditures. These might include expenditures for Information and Referral Services or vendor payments to external caregivers for provision of child care services for employees as well as contributions to on-site centers.

The report also advises that a low-interest loan program could be established to assist with the start-up costs of establishing a child care center for employees. Costs for such items as constructing or renovating a child care facility, purchasing equipment, obtaining technical assistance and paying initial operating expenses would be eligible for loans. Small businesses that might

otherwise not have the cash available to establish a child care service might find this approach particularly helpful.

Friedman (1983) classifies the range of governmental initiatives to encourage employer support of child care into four broad categories: 1. governmental efforts to educate employers, providers and parents about options available to assist working parents in balancing their work/family responsibilities. This category includes sponsorship of conferences and dissemination of information; 2. government's role as a broker, providing employers with access to needed expertise, establishing task forces, offering consultant and referral services, and urging public-private partnerships; 3. government facilitation of employer initiatives through fiscal incentives and by strengthening the child care field. This includes creation of Information and Referral networks and child care vouchering agencies and the removal of discouraging regulations; 4. government demonstration of new work/family support policies and programs by acting as a model employer for its own parent employees.

She argues that these efforts would be even more effective if sponsored by state and local governments, due to greater decentralization of the federal regulatory function. She suggests that many state governmental agencies currently have or could have responsibility for legislative, regulatory and grantmaking powers that would stimulate industry to provide family-supportive benefits, services and work policies, including: the Department of Social Services, Labor and Industrial Relations, Personnel, State-Local Relations or Community Development, the State Treasurer, Commission on the Status of Women, the legislative offices of Research and Policy Analysis, and the state Day Care office. Businesses can use their political clout to lobby for increased government support of child care. New York State employers like IBM,

Con Edison, Morgan Guaranty and American Express have representatives on that state's Commission on Child Care.

Role of Labor Unions

Despite pioneer efforts at sponsorship of union-run child care centers by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Union, labor unions generally have not been active on behalf of child care benefits in contract negotiations, partially because of the costs involved and the relatively small number of members who would benefit from the assistance. Demands for child care are common during negotiations but bargaining committees are usually unwilling to give up any wage increases to obtain the benefits. D. Bell discussing unionized women in state and local government ("Women, Work and Protest",1985) claims that women are still viewed as primarily responsible for care of children, even by their unions. She says there is "deep-rooted ambivalence about making it easier for mothers to work" (p. 291).

Bobbie J. Creque', an AFL/CIO official, explains that what has happened in recent years is that "with inflation, the economy, social security, these issues have taken the front burner, while child care has been put on the back burner." For child care to become a more common benefit she urges, "we have to get it out of the realm of women's issues" (Work & Family:197).

Mark Dudzic suggests that "At the top [offices] of organized labor, the average age is 60 or so, and it's all male. They probably never had to deal with [child care concerns], so it's no surprise that those issues haven't received more attention by labor." (Work & Family: 198) .

While the unions have, to date, not perceived child care as a "front burner issue", some movement is apparent in union activity on behalf of child care benefits. The Coalition of Labor Union Women has, for instance, established a clearing house to distribute information on child care to interested union members. Joyce Miller, president of CLUW, identifies the critical element of

today's union involvement as that work-and-family issues are now seen within the labor movement as key worker issues, not women's issues. At its 1983 convention, the AFL/CIO adopted a resolution calling for national and international unions to "emphasize the importance of child care as a vitally important bargaining issue" (Bureau of National Affairs, 1984). By 1986 the AFL/CIO Executive Council had adopted a resolution on "Work and Family", urging affiliates to seek "family strengthening programs through the collective bargaining process, including joint employer-union sponsored day care centers, information and referral services, allowances for care in existing centers, time off when the child or dependent is sick, and establishing flexible working hours to accommodate caring for children or other dependents" (1986 AFL-CIO Resolution and Fact Sheets, adopted by the Executive Council, February 1986).

The movement toward the inclusion of child care issues in collective bargaining efforts has intensified, both because of the impetus from rank and file union members and because of and in reaction to corporate initiation of such programs as flexible benefits plans and alternative work schedules. As women continue to enter the workforce in increasing numbers, and as more women assume leadership roles in labor unions, work-and-family related benefits are likely to move higher on union agendas. The leaders of Local 8-149, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, were dubious about membership support of union efforts on behalf of child care issues since two-thirds of their membership are men. However support was forthcoming because in approximately 70 percent of the families with children, both spouses were working and men had assumed a high degree of responsibility in the home (Work & Family:199).

John J. Sweeney, International President of the Service Employees International Union, testifying before the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families (1984), recognized the critical need for child care benefits for

working parents and cited several examples of his union's efforts in this regard. The Hospital and Service Employees Union, Local 399, and Kaiser-Permanente Health Maintenance Organization in Los Angeles demonstrate one approach unions are using to encourage management to provide child care services. They negotiated to establish a joint labor-management committee, a result of several years of hard grassroots organizing and lobbying, including a well-researched report and a petition of several hundred signatures. After conducting a needs assessment survey of employees, the committee recommended and was successful in establishing an information and referral program, and is studying the possibility of leave for care of sick children.

In California the State Employees Association, the Communications Workers of America and the California Association of Professional Scientists, successfully negotiated a labor-management agreement establishing a State Labor Management Child Care Committee. The purpose of the committee is to encourage state employees to form non-profit corporations to provide child care services. A \$1,000,000 Child Care Revolving Fund, administered by the Department of Personnel Administration, was established to assist the non-profit corporations in providing child care. Other recommendations include: a rent-free lease agreement with the state, sick leave for care of children, a latchkey program to care for children who would otherwise be left at home alone before and after school, and a voucher plan which would allow employees to choose their own child care arrangements (Work & Family:139).

Union collaboration with other institutions to benefit working parents has been demonstrated in the largest collectively bargained child care program, in New York State, where the Public Employees Federation, SEIU Local 4053, the state Civil Service Employees Association, and the Governor's Office of Employee Relations formed the Empire State Day Care Service, Inc. "to open and operate child care centers at state facilities throughout New York for the

children of state employees." The first center opened in Albany in September, 1979. It was so successful that Empire State now runs 30 centers, serving state employees represented by four labor unions. Seed money covers start-up costs for each center and the state provides space and renovation, but once operational each center is obliged to repay the state for renovation costs. The centers are tax-exempt, non-profit and self-supporting, with operating costs and staff salaries paid from fees charged to parents. The state of New York pays the salary for Empire State's executive director and provides in-kind services such as a free space lease agreement and daily maintenance. Separate labor-management committees oversee operation of each center, and are involved at each level of the operation, from the local level to a state-level joint day care advisory committee. SEIU expects to continue to work for child care benefits at the bargaining table as well as working with child advocacy groups to formulate legislative strategies for the provision of quality child care (Work & Family:195-196).

Of the 415 company-supported child care services studied by the National Employer Supported Child Care Project, only six were union-sponsored or joint union-management initiatives. One prototype is the Hyman Blumberg Child Day Care Center in Baltimore, Md. The Health and Welfare Fund of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Joint Board (including company and union representatives), oversees the child care center program. Start-up funds for the center were donated by local apparel companies, which gave 1% of the gross hourly payroll for several years before the center was opened. 66% of the operating funds are contributed by the companies, with 2% of the gross hourly payroll (a tax deductible expense) going to the union's Health and Welfare fund, which sponsors the center. The center, licensed for 300 children, is for parents who are union members, is open from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., provides two meals a day and medical and dental screening for children. Cost of the program to union parents is \$15 per week. Other Amalgamated

centers are The Chambersburg Day Care Center in Pennsylvania, the Amalgamated Child Day Care and Health Center in Chicago, and the Verona Child Day Care Center in Virginia. The ACTWU child care centers are located in areas which allow a single center to accomodate several work sites (Burud, et al. : 217).

In New York City, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union provided the impetus to create a child care center for union employees in Chinatown. They did a study that demonstrated the need for such a facility to local garment manufacturers. The employers then set up a nonprofit corporation to which several hundred small businesses each contribute \$10 per month, plus dues and fund raising, for a total commitment of \$115,000. This amount covers \$32 per child per week, for 70 slots for children three to five years old. The total cost of care is \$82 per week per child. The difference is provided by the New York City Agency for Child Development, since the majority of children are eligible for public funds.

Another example of a union-sponsored child care center is the Park Village Day Care Center in Cleveland, Ohio, sponsored by the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union Local 427 and the Service, Hospital, Nursing Home, and Public Employees Union, Local 47. The center is open to members of the unions but primarily serves residents of the housing development. Union support, which includes reduced rent, utilities, and in-kind services, is combined with public funds and parent fees to provide a full-service center serving 41 preschool and school-age children (Burud, et al.: 217). Citing these prototypes as examples it is apparent that unions can play an important role in attainment of child care benefits, from inclusion in bargaining agendas to actual sponsorship of centers. Projections indicate that child care issues will assume an increasingly more visible position in union agendas.

The AFL-CIO and some individual unions have lobbied Congress in support of legislation. HR 2020, introduced by Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo), would require employers to provide at least 18 weeks of leave to a father or mother of a newborn, newly adopted, or seriously ill child. The bill would guarantee that a worker could return to his or her same job or an equivalent position with like seniority, status, employment benefits, pay, and other terms and conditions of employment (HR 2020 introduced in the House of Representatives April 4, 1985).

Recent labor-management approaches to family-work issues have included formation of joint labor-management committees to explore specific problems, as well as bargaining table negotiations. These have focused primarily on

- . alternative work schedules;
- . child care;
- . parental leave; and
- . employee assistance plans.

Alternative work schedules present special problems for labor unions. As reported by the Bureau of National Affairs "the labor movement has worked hard to establish the eight-hour day, 40-hour workweek as the norm, beyond which overtime rates would be paid. In the view of some unions, alternative work schedules encroach upon this norm and carry with them the risk that the employer could use them as a way to avoid paying premium wage rates to workers. Unions often fear that a schedule which could benefit some individuals with special needs could also be used to harm the bargaining unit as a whole" (BNA:193).

Among the concerns of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees is that the institution of flextime might open up jobs for

more part-timers who might not be covered by the union contract. The Coalition of Labor Union Women ("Bargaining for Child Care", 1985) cites the advantages of alternative work schedules such as reduced absenteeism, reduced lateness, improved employee morale, reduced turnover, and increased productivity. It points out potential disadvantages such as reduction in opportunities to earn overtime and premium pay; institution of different time-keeping measures; and longer workdays which may increase stress and other problems. CLUW advises unions to thoroughly canvas employee attitudes and expectations, ascertain that employee participation in such plans is voluntary, take into account the possible impact on personnel regulations, including the opportunity for overtime earnings, and analyze the potential effect on number of jobs.

Alternative work schedules (including flextime, compressed workweeks, job-sharing, voluntary reduced work-time programs, telecommuting and part-time employment) will become an increasingly important benefit over the next decade is the conclusion of the Opinion Research Corporation of Princeton, N.J. from responses to its 1985 survey on employee attitudes toward benefits. Reasons for union skepticism about alternative work schedules were outlined by Jack Golodner, Director of Department for Professional Employees, AFL/CIO, and include the fear that the work day would be extended, that some of the programs were not voluntary, and that opportunities for overtime pay would disappear (BNA: 68).

The Economic Policy Council of the United Nations Association-USA (Work and Family:194) recommends formation of joint labor-management committees "that encourage mutual cooperation and creativity in the development, administration, and implementation of more flexible workplace policies". The report stresses the role work councils have played in the adoption of flextime schedules in European countries, notably West Germany.

Some unions are reluctant to open on-site child care centers because closure of factories or businesses leaves the union with an unused facility. Both the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union have had this experience, and now, with a few exceptions, support the concept of community-based child care centers. More clearly stable union populations, such as at Boston City Hospital (the Service Employees International Union Local 285) and Ford Motor Company (United Auto Workers), have been able to establish on-site centers (Burud, et al.: 37).

Collective Bargaining

Child care as a collective bargaining item necessitates union recognition that employer funding of child care-related services likely means less available money for salaries or other employee benefits, perhaps more widely utilized. Despite historic union reluctance to make child care demands part of the negotiating process, more and more child care provisions are now appearing in labor contracts. District 65, United Auto Workers, negotiated a child care subsidy of \$500 per year for union employees at the Village Voice. AFSCME negotiated an information and referral program for employees at the Library of Congress. The same union had a "family responsibility leave" provision included in current contracts with the State of Illinois Department of Central Management Services. This provision establishes that leave of up to one year may be granted to meet an employee's family responsibilities. Responsibilities covered include care for a newborn or adopted child; care for a temporarily disabled member of the family; or to respond to temporary dislocation of the family. New York State affiliates of four unions representing state employees have negotiated formation of the Empire State Day Care Services (BNA: 302).

Some advocates of employer-supported child care do not agree with making child care a bargaining item. John Fernandez, Director of Human Resources for AT&T and a leading champion of corporate support of child care, feels that employee child care needs are so varied - including such requests as time off for child care, subsidy of services, information about availability of care, and provision of child care services, that inclusion of any one option in a labor contract is restrictive. He believes in in-house education of management and supervisors towards understanding the importance to the corporation of flexibility and one-to-one solutions to work-and-family problems (speech to the Employer Supported Child Care Network, Boston, May 28, 1987).

Parental Leave

Many unions are focusing their negotiating efforts on gaining protection for pregnant women and new parents. The United Mine Workers of America has given this issue great weight because it was identified by their rank-and-file as an important priority. Stephen F. Webber, member of the UMWA executive board, testified in 1985 before several congressional subcommittees considering parental leave and disability legislation. He stated: "We have focused on a demand for an automatic right to six months of unpaid parental leave for a working mother following the period of disability associated with birth, parental leave for a male miner to care for his newborn, and parental leave for either working parent in the case of adoption or a seriously ill child." The union proposal also requires the employer to maintain full insurance coverage during the leave and would entitle workers to return to their old job and to accumulate seniority while on leave (Work & Family: 197).

"Bargaining for Child Care" (CLUW, 1985) offers the following suggested language on parental leave for labor contracts:

"The employer shall grant leave to an employee because of childbirth or adoption on the following basis:

a. Leave with full pay and benefits, including accrual of service credit, for any period of time during pregnancy during which the employee's physician certifies that she is disabled from working.

b. Six months leave with full pay and benefits, including accrual of service credit, for either parent of a newborn or newly adopted child.

c. Leave without pay for up to two years for child care purposes for either parent, upon submission of a written request. The employee may take any accrued vacation during such leave, and shall have the right to continue medical coverage and all other employer-paid fringe benefits at his or her own expense during said leave. Upon return to work, the employee shall be restored to his or her former position, location and shift or, if that job no longer exists, to the most nearly comparable position. Such period of unpaid leave shall not be deemed a break in service for any employment-related purpose."

This contract language contains considerably more liberal employee benefits than HR4300, (the revised version of HR2020), the federal maternity leave legislation introduced by Rep. Patricia Schroeder on March 4, 1986.

Employee Assistance Plans

Employee assistance plans are designed to help workers deal with family problems, typically alcohol and substance abuse. Several unions have expanded this provision to include problems relating to family-work life. Examples include the contract negotiated in 1985 between Buffalo General and Deaconess Hospitals and Nurses United, Local 1168 of the Communication Workers of America, and the contract implemented in 1982 between New York State and its public employee unions (BNA: 198).

Other Union Child Care Issues

Other child care issues have been identified as needing labor union attention. One major problem for which an effective labor-management solution has not yet been generated are the child care difficulties faced by union parents who work rotating shifts. Child care arrangements are a serious concern for this population. A related problem is caused by the management policy of mandatory overtime, often on very short notice. This practice presents obvious hardships for working parents who must make complex child care arrangements. Some unions are preparing to address this issue at the bargaining table. The Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union would like to bargain for a voluntary overtime system, recognizing that it would necessitate more complicated bookkeeping for the company (Burud, et al.: 198).

An issue of concern, particularly to labor union parents who work shifts, is the inability to take time for child-related appointments (i.e. doctors or dentists). Supervisors are reported as regularly refusing workers time off from work when a child is sick, or to go see a child's teacher. A flexible leave time policy would appear to address this problem. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union has been able, in a few contracts, to change sick days to paid personal days, payable in 4-hour blocks. This allows workers to take time off for family needs while maintaining job security. Hewlett-Packard Co. in Palo Alto, California, has adopted a flexible leave policy to end abuses of sick leave by employees with children needing care. Sick leave and annual leave are combined into a flexible leave time that can be taken for any purpose (BNA: 90).

Still another child care issue, brought up by union parents of school age children, particularly those in assembly line settings, is lack of phone accessibility at the end of the school day. Mark Dudzic, (president of Local 8-149, OCAWU), feels that contract negotiation may not be the best way for the union to address this problem. Instead he proposes that the union set up a hotline system where an adult would field calls from children returning home

from school. Some sort of fee system might be set up, with the amount of the fee minimized if a large number of workers participated. Should a child not check in with the hotline, he opines, "we'd probably be able to get the company to put the call through, which we can ensure is an emergency call." Dudzic proposes that his union will increasingly look to this kind of "self-help" project. Other unions will undoubtedly seek alternative labor-management solutions to these problems.

Research and Analysis

Lack of concrete evidence that provision of corporate child care assistance produces measurable benefits to employers outweighing the costs involved, is often cited by executives as justification for failure to provide services. Miller, of the Division of Research and Evaluation in Boulder, Colorado, (1984) supports this argument when he claims "In most discussions about employer-sponsored child care, little solid evidence is offered to support the widely expressed conventional wisdom that care for employees' children improves employees' work behaviors and attitudes."

The Bureau of National Affairs report (1984) echoes this opinion, stating that little sound analysis of the costs and benefits of child care assistance has been conducted. They report that many employers cannot correctly calculate the cost of providing the benefit because they don't know the value of space, employee time and in-kind services involved. Gains, such as improved morale and greater job satisfaction, generally have been documented subjectively.

Further scientific research clearly needs to be conducted. However several studies offer documentation of significant financial benefits resulting from child care initiatives. Almost all employers offering child care assistance report that their program benefits outweigh its costs. A study by Youngblood and Chambers-Cook (1984), supplies data that at one company absences

decreased by 19% after an on-site child care center was instituted. Additionally, the turnover rate in the same company decreased dramatically, from 8% before the institution of day care to 3% in the year following its adoption - representing a 63% drop in the annual turnover rate.

The National Employer Supported Child Care Project, (1982), in a study funded by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, found 415 companies offering a broad spectrum of child care assistance, and overwhelmingly reporting tangible corporate payoffs. The major perceived benefit was in recruitment of new employees, with improved morale the second most important gain. Enhanced public image, lower absentee rates, less turnover, the ability to attract persons on leave back to work and improvement of productivity or product quality were also seen as important advantages to the company, with half or more of the respondents reporting favorable results. However, better employee motivation and provision of equal employment opportunity were judged insignificant benefits to the companies. Of 178 firms who responded to questions about the effects of the child care benefits on turnover and absenteeism, 65% reported reduced turnover and 53% reported lower absenteeism. 85% of companies responding reported the child care benefit had a positive effect on recruitment, and the same percentage saw public relations gains. 39% of the total sample and 45% of industrial companies also found providing child care assistance reduced tardiness (Burud et al., 1984).

Magid (1983), found that 75% of the companies, in her study of firms offering child care benefits, believed that the advantages of the child care initiatives far outweighed the costs. The companies reported that such assistance led to a lower rate of absenteeism, greater stability and loyalty, improved employee morale, enhancement of the company's image, improved recruitment and retention of quality employees. Child care policies also led to

less employee stress and distraction, and the earlier return of employees from maternity leave back to the workforce.

Qualitative evidence of benefits accrued through corporate intervention can be found in studies of employees from companies currently addressing child care issues. Fernandez (1986) surveyed 7,000 management and craft employees in five large, technically oriented companies in a major study investigating feelings, beliefs and attitudes towards corporate responses to family/work issues. Of about 5,000 employees who provided complete information, (a 71% response rate), 41% were crafts employees and 59% management. Women comprised 63% of the crafts respondents and 40% of the management sample. People of color represented only 9% of the total sample. His conclusions support the perception that child/family issues reduce productivity. 67% of the respondents in his study agreed that "child care problems exact a high price in unproductive use of employee' minds and time." 48% of the women and 25% of the men had spent unproductive time at work because of child care issues. Missed days at work, tardiness, leaving work early, and dealing with family issues during work hours were highly positively correlated with employees' difficulties in finding and keeping satisfactory child care and coping with work/family issues.

Another major finding of the survey was that women carried a much greater share of the child care burden than men did. Answering questions on fifteen family/work and child care issues, only 27% of the women, compared to 58% of the men, reported having no problems. Women, who deal with more family responsibilities than men, experienced greater stress both at home and at work, (which ultimately reduces productivity).

Lastly, the survey results indicated that more than half of all employees, regardless of background, believed that corporations should be involved in financially assisting employees with child care problems, providing flexible work

options, supplying child care resource assistance, and offering training to deal with child care, dual family/work roles, and child development problems. Women felt most strongly about this issue. 77% of the women with children 18 and under, and 60% of women without children under 19, agreed that corporations should be actively involved in assisting employees in their child care needs, compared to only 52% and 48% of the men, respectively (p.133). Men in management, who are most influential in creating company policy, were least likely to support the idea. Only 45% of male managers were positive about corporate support, whereas 73% of the craftswomen, 62% of the craftsmen, and 64% of the women in management gave a positive response.

A Portland, Oregon study documented what companies lose by not responding to employee child care concerns. In a survey of more than 8,000 employees from 22 companies in the city they found that women with children under twelve missed about 12 days of work each year. Employed fathers who had a wife or other adult at home missed 8 days of work per year - a number similar to that of men with no children. The authors explain that mothers take time off to look for care, or tend to a sick child, or respond to a last-minute emergency. Absenteeism caused by child care problems is therefore an employer concern (Emlen, 1984).

Research studies are just beginning to provide data as to the positive effect of child care initiatives on the effectiveness of American corporations. It is expected that further studies will focus on documented changes in company productivity and cost/benefit analysis. Data on factors such as recruitment, retention, absenteeism, tardiness, productivity, public relations, stress and worker morale needs to be carefully examined in order to convince corporate executives that child care benefits assist in meeting management aims. Additional studies need to be conducted as to whether, and under what circumstances, maternal work outside-of-home affects positive child development. It is also critical that the components of "quality" child care, which

promotes optimum child development, be carefully isolated, researched and documented.

Hypotheses

The literature suggests five hypotheses to be tested in this study.

1. That fewer child care benefits are currently offered by companies in order to retain the lower salary levels of the employee cohort. In the higher salary levels of the employee cohort, more company assistance with family related benefits is offered to workers.

2. That company provision of child care benefits will significantly increase employee retention and job satisfaction.

3. That in companies where unions have actively bargained for child care benefits, employees report more job satisfaction.

4. That union efforts to obtain child care benefits translates into employer sponsorship of family-related benefits, services and policies, and

5. That workers will support union efforts to obtain child care benefits even if they will not directly benefit from those benefits.

Summary

The 20th century began with a long period of neglect of the child care needs of working parents and their children. It has entered a phase of rhetoric surrounding this subject, spurred by the women's movement, civil rights laws on equal employment, and an influx of women into the workforce. Despite conservative efforts to discourage maternal employment, the reality is that mothers will continue to be an important component at the workplace - mothers who are single, whose husbands' earnings cannot support the family, and who have career ambitions of their own. This will translate into a continued demand for increased, better and more convenient child care and company policies

more sympathetic to the needs of working parents. If the corporate sector is to play a stronger role in provision of child care benefits it must be convinced of its self interest in doing so. Increasingly, it is often a corporate issue of whether child care help will attract and hold workers, reduce turnover, absenteeism, error, and accidents. The government, child care professionals, and academia can validate the reality of the problems of working parents and the return to the company of an investment in child care assistance. So far this paper has placed the corporate support of child care in historical and national perspective, cited examples of employer and union support, outlined employer and government options for increasing child care support for working parents and examined research investigating return to companies from investment in child care. A concerted effort at this juncture in research on the efficacy of child care initiatives and dissemination of findings to corporations, may create the impetus to move child care benefits from a few, progressive companies to the benefits packages of the vast majority.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Objectives and Purpose of Study

Unions with a largely female constituency presented a unique opportunity to investigate the broad range of responses by employers, unions and government to the influx of women with young children into the American workforce. They offer access to a large group of working women who have experience with the above institutions.

The purposes of this study were to determine: a) whether female union members have preferences for specific child care benefits that correlate with salary level, job category, age of children, or marital status; b) whether employer-sponsorship of child care benefits has a decisive impact upon employee plans for job mobility and job-satisfaction; c) whether union efforts to negotiate for child care benefits are supported by all union members; and d) whether active union efforts to obtain family-related benefits contributes to employee job satisfaction.

By means of a mailed questionnaire, telephone surveys, and in-depth interviews this researcher has attempted to accomplish the following objectives:

- . Collect detailed data regarding employee preferences for employer-sponsored child care benefits.
- . Gather information regarding the demographics of employee participation in employer-sponsored child care services.
- . Gather information regarding employee retention at their place of employment after participation in child care benefits.
- . Analyze the data with regard to attractiveness of specific child care benefits for particular employee cohorts.

- . Draw pertinent conclusions about relationships between specific child care benefits, demographics, and employee retention.
- . Draw pertinent conclusions about the relative desirability of various child care benefits in meeting membership child care needs.
- . Draw conclusions about the desirability of active union efforts to obtain child care benefits through the collective bargaining process.

Primary Data Source

It was decided to limit this study to women in labor unions for the following reasons. Firstly, the most dramatic change in the work force has been its growing feminization. A question this raises is the extent to which the increased participation of women in the labor force has influenced employer provision of family-related benefits. Secondly, women continue to carry primary responsibility for most family tasks, especially child care and child rearing, and a growing proportion of families are single-parent families, overwhelmingly headed by women. Single parents will increasingly constitute an escalating portion of the work force.¹ To what extent will this increased constituency expect or influence employer support of child care benefits? Lastly, since women constitute particularly important labor components in the booming service industries, will unions, despite weak union representation of women nationwide, make child care benefits a priority item?

1. In families headed by women, 55% of the mothers were in the labor force in 1980, 59% were in the work force in 1985. Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics. Table 1.3, Percentage of Mothers with Children Under Age 6, in the Labor Force in March 1980 and March 1985, by Marital Status.

The union members involved in the study provide information about the current availability of child care and family supports at their workplace, as well as member perceptions of their union's efforts to obtain child care benefits through collective bargaining. Data from participating unions may indicate whether all union members, including those that would not directly profit from employer-sponsored child care benefits, would favor active union efforts to obtain some form of child care support as part of their benefits package.

General Research Model

This study proceeds on the assumption that the provision of employer-supported child care benefits is vitally important to families attempting to balance work and family responsibilities. The increased demand for child care services and the insufficiency of present community resources to meet that demand, plus government's inability or unwillingness to fill the gap in resources, has placed the burden for assistance with child care on the private sector. Employers desirous of retaining a largely female workforce and reaping the attendant public relations benefits are currently willing to consider child care initiatives; however they are often confused as to which particular benefit would best meet their company goals. The research was conducted to collect information from union members regarding preferences for specific child care benefits and correlate this with demographic data. It also collected data on the perceptions of the workers on the effect of provision of child care benefits on their job-satisfaction and plans for job-mobility as well as their union's efforts with regard to including child care benefits in the collective bargaining process.

A mailed survey questionnaire was used in order to obtain as broad a sampling as possible. This was important because of lack of data available from the rank and file union population regarding perception of the importance of child care benefits. The mailed survey approach, though running the risk of a

low return rate, particularly among the non-English-speaking and entry-level union members, did provide the opportunity for many more workers to share their perceptions and evaluate their experiences with child care benefits.

The mailed questionnaire was sent to 400 members of two, national, female-intensive unions which range in total membership from 50,000 to 200,000 employees, (a total of approximately 800 potential respondents). Using a systematic sampling procedure, these questionnaires were distributed to a random sample of union members, both current users and nonusers of employer-sponsored child care benefits. The methodology was to number the membership lists and systematically mail to 400 persons. This method was utilized in order to get data that will enable us to draw some conclusions that generalize to the unionized female employee population. Using this procedure, child care benefits preferences of female employee-users of child care benefits can be correlated with their demographic data, job satisfaction, and plans for mobility. It also enables us to compare employee perceptions of their union's efforts to obtain child care benefits.

The instrument was self-administered and composed of structured questions with a predetermined set of answers. There was also room in the questionnaire to allow respondents to comment, using their own words. The questionnaire was pilot-tested on two representative groups of female, union-member, employees from companies which have and have not sponsored child care benefits. Each group was asked to answer the questionnaire, write down anything that needs clarification, and make suggestions which they feel would improve the instrument. Following this, the instrument was refined to incorporate their suggestions.

In order to provide further depth to the study, in-depth interviews were conducted with a small cross-section of female employees at each of the unions studied. Participants were selected randomly from the pool of union members who had not yet responded to the questionnaire. The interview was

designed to examine the reasons for employee reactions to specific company policies and practices relating to families, and the effect of these policies on employee job satisfaction and mobility decisions. The interviews elicited more personal responses to the management of work/family arrangements, the presence or absence of child care benefits and the desirability of union involvement in negotiating for child care benefits.

Measurement

Kamerman and Kahn (1987) point out the absence of a current standardized definition of any connection between employer provision of family-related benefits and worker productivity (or any between job-satisfaction and productivity). In support of this statement, a survey of 850 American workers by the Public Agenda Foundation (1983), found that workers made distinctions between those features of their jobs that made a job more agreeable and those for which they would work harder.² There were sharp differences in the responses of men and women. Confusion between job satisfaction and productivity may have caused employers, attempting to meet company productivity goals, to offer ineffective benefits. The variables in the present study were thus selected in order to investigate, through statistical analysis, whether any relationships in job satisfaction, availability of child care benefits, and union involvement in obtaining child care benefits, exist when examined in light of the independent variables.

²Workers listed four features as contributing to work motivation; good pay (77%; recognition for good work (70%); chance for advancement (65%); pay tied to performance (61%). They linked two to job agreeability; good fringe benefits (68%); and job security (65%). Two were mixed; interesting work (62%); and the chance to learn new things (61%). Other aspects contributing to job agreeability but not to work motivation included flexible working hours, a convenient location, congenial co-workers and supervisors, and freedom from stress.

Earlier studies that gathered data about the effects of employer supported child care benefits on employees (Burod 1984, Fernandez 1986) focused on the variables of turnover rates, absenteeism, recruitment, productivity and morale. Since this study of employer-supported child care benefits attempts to investigate female union member access to and preferences for child care benefits, effects of family-related benefits on employee job satisfaction and support for union activity in obtaining benefits, the following variables were selected as critical:

Demographic characteristics of the union sample are examined, to determine their influence on female employees' response to employer sponsorship of child care benefits and desire for union activity to obtain benefits at the bargaining table. Variables include the age of the respondents, their marital status, employee salary level and family income, the number, age and future plans to have children of the participants, the education level completed, and their ethnic background. Age was recoded as 'under 35' and '35 plus' in order to compare those in the child bearing years with older respondents. Questions dealing with ages of children were recoded as 'less than 5', '6 through 12' and '12 plus'. Employee salary was recoded as 'under \$15,000' and '\$15,000 plus' based on frequency distributions, in order that there be similar distributions.

The job categories (type of work performed) of the worker-respondents are considered in relationship to employee job satisfaction as well as the respondents' perception of union efforts to obtain child care benefits and extent of unionization of workforce. Job satisfaction is measured as a positive response (4-5) or a negative response (1-3) to Question 20, "Do you like working for your company?" Worker perception of union efforts to obtain child care benefits is measured as a positive response (4-5) or a negative response (1-3), to Question 19, "How important have child care benefits been in your

union's collective bargaining efforts?" Responses to questions about job categories were recoded as manual or nonmanual.

Child care benefits offered by current employer, employee preferences for specific child care benefits, and employee use of company-sponsored child care benefits are examined in association with employee plans to seek other employment. Finally, employee support for union efforts to obtain child care benefits is studied in relationship to demographic data and job satisfaction. Support of union efforts is measured by Question 25, "Would you be willing to support union efforts to gain employer-supported child care benefits, even if you didn't directly benefit at this time?" For many of the crosstabulations, specific benefits offered by employers was measured as 'any benefit'. All data were obtained from respondent answers to questions in the survey instrument distributed to the two union memberships or in the interviews.

Data Sources, Collection, and Analysis

Social Service Directors of two unions with large female memberships were contacted (by mail and telephone) by the researcher to explain the purpose of this study and ask for their cooperation. They were convinced that the information collected would be sufficiently valuable in their union's planning process and contract negotiations to encourage their participation. One union allowed the researcher to use the systematic random sampling technique procedure described in Section A, while the second union determined it would conduct the entire mailing procedure themselves, following the researcher's instructions precisely.

Using the same union membership lists described in section A, in-depth interviews were conducted with a small random sample (four workers from each union studied), of union members. Once the names of prospective interviewees were drawn from the sample list, the members were contacted and

asked if they would participate in the study. Affirmative responses determined who was interviewed.

Collection and Analysis of Data

The questionnaire was distributed with a cover letter from the Social Service Director of the union, a letter from the researcher, and a stamped self-addressed envelope to facilitate an early response. After one week, a post card was sent to all potential respondents encouraging them to respond if they had not yet done so, and thanking them if they had already returned their questionnaire. If there was no reply within three weeks, a follow-up letter and second questionnaire was sent out. In one union, where it was known that a large majority of the potential respondents were Portuguese speaking, a copy of the questionnaire was prepared in Portuguese and sent to the employees. (See Appendix C)

The first mailing of 400 letters and questionnaires, including an introductory letter from the union's Social Service Director, to Southeastern New England members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union was posted on Monday, April 26, 1986. There were 22 returns three weeks from that date. The second mailing, a reminder postcard to nonrespondents, was posted on May 11, 1986. Telephone calls elicited the information that a majority of the potential respondents were Portuguese speaking. Thus the third mailing to nonrespondents, including a letter emphasizing the importance of a high rate of return and a Portuguese version of the questionnaire for those with Portuguese surnames, was mailed on May 25, 1986. The total number of returned surveys from this union was 69 (a 17.2% return). The higher rate of return for the other union sample would indicate that limited English language skills was a factor in the low rate of return for this union.

A comparable set of letters and questionnaires was posted to 200 female New England, New York and New Jersey members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees union (by the union's data processing department), on June 7, 1986. There were 38 returns received by two weeks from that date. The follow-up postcard was mailed on June 22, 1986. A third mailing to nonrespondents, including a letter emphasizing the importance of a high rate of return and another copy of the questionnaire, was mailed on July 11, 1986. The total number of returned surveys from this union was 71 (a 35.5% return).

Telephone interviews were conducted with a random sample of union members on the mailing list who had not responded to the above procedures. These proved to be a fruitful source of information; respondents were more eager to share their experiences in combining work and family responsibilities on the telephone than in writing. In-depth interviews later proved to be an even more effective method of data collection with interviewees extraordinarily candid and forthcoming.

There is qualitative (telephone and personal interviews) and quantitative, bivariate analysis of the data. The purpose of the two methodologies is to provide a detailed and accurate account of the benefits offered, effects of the child care benefits preferences on employee job satisfaction, and employee perceptions of union efforts. In analyzing the results, frequency distributions, and cross-tabulations are used to determine areas of agreement among respondents and to give a rank-ordering to the child care benefits in terms of its perceived priority. Interview responses are not included in the statistical analysis, but commented on and interpreted in the section following. They add to and enrich the pool of available information about worker responses to employer supported child care benefits as well as point out areas that could be usefully pursued in further studies.

The first analysis of the raw data came in the form of frequency distributions and summary statistics that included means, medians, modes, and standard deviations. These tables were used to describe the characteristics of the union respondents studied. Statistical procedures such as chi squares, t test, and analyses of variance were used to test and measure statistically significant differences between the respondent groups. Following convention, in significance testing, alpha was set at $p \leq .05$.

Since this was a descriptive survey, data corresponding to child care benefits offered by employers and used (or not used) by respondents have been tabulated for the aggregate group of union women and provide a general statistical quantitative description. The data have also been tabulated for each union separately and provide differentiated quantitative descriptions. Consolidation and presentation of data include construction of separate union membership profiles, frequency distributions, and crosstabulations.

Bivariate crosstabular analyses, to test the hypotheses, were carried out and included: comparing respondents' salary level with availability of employer supported child care benefits; examining employee willingness to support union efforts to obtain child care benefits, employee salary level and age; comparing respondents' satisfaction with their company and availability of child care benefits; and comparing respondent perceptions of how important negotiating for child care benefits was to their union with availability of child care benefits and job satisfaction. In addition we examined frequency distributions of the specific child care benefits respondents reported their employer as currently offering, those used by employees, desired by employees, and influencing employee decisions to remain at their job. Finally we examined frequency distributions from workers who have used any employer-supported child care benefits.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The findings presented in this chapter are drawn from the 140 questionnaires completed and returned by female union members from the New England region (largely Fall River and New Bedford, Massachusetts) of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) and the New England, New York and New Jersey region of the Associated Federal, State, County and Municipal Employees union (AFSCME). These unions were selected because of their longevity in the union movement and their largely female membership. The objectives of the study were to ascertain the child care benefits offered by the employers of these union women, the preferences of the workers for specific child care benefits, their job satisfaction, and their perceptions of union activity in attempting to negotiate family-related benefits at the bargaining table.

This chapter is divided into three sections. Section 1 presents a profile of the female union members who responded to the questionnaire for this study. The profile was developed by describing the characteristics of the workers as drawn from the questionnaires. Section II, using crosstabular analyses, examines the child care benefits offered to and utilized by these women workers, and studies the availability of child care benefits in relationship to worker job satisfaction and plans for job mobility. In addition, it investigates members' perception of union efforts to obtain child care benefits and support for further efforts. Section III offers a profile and discussion of female union members drawn from on-site interviews.

There were 109 variables in the questionnaire, with possibilities for many crosstabulations. After the first statistical procedures (frequency distributions and crosstabulations), were completed it became apparent that many of the

correlations would prove insignificant. For this reason recoding was done, based on frequency distributions, in order to have similar distributions in the cells. Since many of the data fields (child care benefits offered and utilized) were sparse, a new variable was formed as summations of the questions about availability of specific employer-sponsored benefits (questions 21, a-k through 24, a-k) into the new variable "any child care benefit". A similar treatment was accorded question 23, a-k, concerning specific child care benefits desired by workers (recoded as "child care benefit desired") and question 24, a-k, concerning child care benefits that, if offered, would influence job mobility (summed as "child care benefit influential in retention"). The "any child care benefit" variable was chosen for extended analysis and used in crosstabulations with chi squares.

In question 7 responses were recoded to form more coherent variables by collapsing categories; salaries below \$15,000 were named "lower salaries" and salaries of over \$15,000 were named "higher salaries". In question 9A, concerning the age of respondents' children, responses were collapsed and recoded to form the categories of "less than 5", "6 through 12", and "over 12". In crosstabulations involving question 4, reporting respondents' age, the new variables "under 35" and "35 plus" were formed and provided opportunities to compare the responses of workers in and without the child bearing years.

Responses to two similar questions (questions 1 and 14), concerning employees' type of work and job title, were recoded to form the categories "manual" and "non-manual", providing an opportunity to examine availability of employer-sponsored child care benefits from this perspective. Better approximation of summary statistical values was achieved by collapsing scale values. The variable that addresses employee job satisfaction (question 20, "Overall, do you like working for your company?") was recoded as "low satisfaction" (responses 1-3) and "high satisfaction" (responses 4-5). A similar procedure was used with question 19, the variable that examines employee

perception of union activities to obtain child care benefits ("How important have child care benefits been in your union's collective bargaining efforts?"). Responses were recoded as ""not important" (1-2 on the scale), "important" (3 on the scale), and "very important" (4-5 on the scale).

Section 1

A Profile of the Typical Female Union Member

The responses to the survey revealed that these two, largely female, long-established unions have a membership that is, along some parameters, not typical of the national workforce, while typical in others. Most of the female union members were older than the national average (70% were older than age 35, the mean age was 40). 61% had total family incomes of under \$30,000 (the 1984 Census Bureau report places the median income of two parent households with two children, both parents working, as \$34,668; the median income of single parent families in 1984 was \$12,803). Their marital status was largely stable (61% were married, 19% divorced or separated, 12% never married, 8% widowed). This contrasts with 1984 Census Bureau statistics that show two-thirds of the working women as the sole provider for their family or with husbands earning under \$15,000 per year.

Although 81% of the sample replied that they had children, most of the children were beyond the need for child care (only 35% reported children of under 6 years of age, as compared with a national average of 56% of working mothers with children under 6). An overwhelming 83% of the population did not have plans to have any more children within the next two years.

The great majority of the respondents were white (76%). Seventy-four percent had been with their current employer over 5 years (48% for over 10

years). There was an almost even division of manual and non-manual workers. ACTWU workers reported their job category as manufacturing (30%) or machine trades (65%), while AFSCME members identified their occupation as clerical/sales (36%) or professional/technical/managerial (50%). This correlates with educational level achieved. Fifty-four percent of the ACTWU members attained the eighth grade level, 52% of the AFSCME received their High School diploma (an average of responses from the two unions indicate that 37% achieved a high school diploma).

The typical union member surveyed was white, female, married, age 39.5, with at least one child, working for the same employer for over 10 years, with a family income of \$24,500. The majority of workers in the study are neither in middle or top management. A few are supervisors, forewomen or social workers but most are low-salaried machine operators, secretaries and clerks, thus presenting the child-care picture of low-income workers. A more detailed description of each of the characteristics examined follows.

Gender

Out of 140 questionnaire returns there was one male respondent to the survey (AFSCME), all others were female.

Type of Work Performed

Responses to this question were categorized as manual or non-manual. All but 3% of the returns from ACTWU were from manual workers while all the respondents from AFSCME were in non-manual positions. This creates an opportunity to examine whether there are any differences in the child care benefits offered manual and non-manual workers. (See Table 1)

TABLE 1
Type of Work Performed
Percent

<u>Type of Work</u>	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	(n=131)*
Manual	97	0	
Non-Manual	3	100	

*The n in the data which follows is not consistent due to individual respondents choosing not to answer particular questions.

Job Category

When asked to categorize their work title 65% of the ACTWU respondents identified their work category as machine trades and 30% as manufacturing, thus confirming that the vast majority of the ACTWU sample were manual workers. 50% of the AFSCME sample identified their job category as professional/technical/managerial, 36% as clerical/sales, and 8% as service, thus confirming that the AFSCME respondents were non-manual workers. (See Table 2)

TABLE 2
Job Category

	Percent		
	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	n=132
<u>Job Category</u>			
Prof-Tech-Managerial	1.5	50.0	
Clerical-Sales	1.5	36.4	
Machine Trades	65.2	0	
Manufacturing	30.3	0	
Service	0	7.6	
Other	1.5	6.1	

Years with Current Employer

The sample population had been employed at the same place for a relatively long period. 61% of the ACTWU respondents had worked for their employer over five years, 38% under five years. In AFSCME only 13% had worked for their employer under five years, with 86% employed there over 5 years. (See Table 3)

TABLE 3
Years with Current Employer

	Percent		
	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	n=136
<u>Number of Years with Employer</u>			
Under one year	4.4	0	
1-5 years	33.8	13.2	
5-10 years	27.9	25.0	
Over 10 years	33.8	61.8	

Age of Respondents

Responses from these two largely female unions indicate that they have a workforce older than the national average. Respondents from ACTWU split almost evenly into the two categories "under 35" (child-bearing years) and "over 35" (49% and 50% respectively). The AFSCME population was considerably older, with only 11% under age 35. The mean age was 40. This finding is indicative of the stable, long-standing female membership in these long-established unions and raises important considerations about the union status of the "new" female workforce. (Table 4)

TABLE 4
Age of Respondents

	Percent		
	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	n=138
<u>Age</u>			
Under 20 years	1.5	0	
20-24 years	7.4	1.4	
25-29 years	27.9	0	
30-34 years	13.2	10.0	
35-44 years	47.1	31.4	
45 plus years	2.9	57.4	

Marital Status

A great majority of the respondents in ACTWU were married (80%), as were a sizeable percent (44%) in AFSCME. This provided an average of 61% married respondents, higher than the national average of working women. The percent of divorced and separated respondents was 19%, again lower than in the national population of working women. (Nationally one in five of all children live in a single parent home and by 1990 nearly one in four will be living with a single parent- double the 1970 rate.) The absence of missing responses to this question may indicate less anxiety around answering this question than some of the others. (Table 5)

TABLE 5
Marital Status
Percent

	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	n=140
<u>Marital Status</u>			
Never Married	10.1	14.1	
Married	79.7	43.7	
Divorced	7.2	22.5	
Separated	1.4	5.6	
Widowed	1.4	14.1	

Salary

It should be noted that 73% of the ACTWU respondents earned less than \$15,000, compared to 16% of the respondents from AFSCME. An average (of

the respondents from both unions) found 44% earning less than \$15,000. Only 6% of the respondents reported a salary of over \$30,000. (Table 6)

TABLE 6

Salary of Respondents

Percent

	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	n=137
<u>Salary</u>			
Lower than \$15,000	73.5	15.9	
Higher than \$15,000	26.5	84.1	

Family Income

69% of the ACTWU respondents reported their total family income as less than \$30,000, and 52% of the AFSCME sample reported their family income as less than \$30,000, providing a combined average of 61% as less than \$30,000. This compares to the national median income for two-parent households with two children, with both parents working, of \$34,668 in 1984; the median income of single parent families in 1984 was \$12,803. (Table 7)

TABLE 7
Family Income

	Percent		
	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	n=132
<u>Family Income</u>			
Under \$10,000	6.2	3.0	
10,000-14,999	7.7	1.5	
15,000-19,999	23.1	16.4	
20,000-29,999	32.3	31.3	
30,000-39,999	21.5	19.4	
40,000 plus	9.2	28.4	

Children

84% of the ACTWU sample and 79% of the AFSCME sample had children (of any age), providing an average of 81% with children (Table 8). However only 35% of the children of participants in the study were under 6 years of age (44% from ACTWU, 27% from AFSCME). This is a surprisingly small percentage compared to the national statistic of 52% of the mothers of children under six in the workplace. A fairly large sample (65%) of the AFSCME participants with children reported them to be over 12 years of age (Table 9).

Many of these stable, largely low-salaried workers have completed their child-rearing years, though 21% of the AFSCME respondents and 15% of the ACTWU respondents have children under 1 year of age. This appears to indicate a new group of entrants into the workplace. None of the respondents chose to leave blank the questions about children.

TABLE 8
Parenting Status

	Percent		
	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	n=140
<u>Have Children</u>			
Yes	84.1	78.9	
No	15.9	21.1	

TABLE 9
Age of Children

	Percent		
	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	n=140
<u>Age of Children</u>			
Less than 1	14.5	21.1	
1 to 5	29.0	5.6	
6 to 12	30.4	8.5	
12 plus	26.1	64.8	

Plans to Have Children Within Next Two Years

An overwhelming majority of the participants had no plans to have children within the next two years (81% of the ACTWU population and 85% of the AFSCME population). This contrasts sharply with the national statistics for the forty nine million women in the workforce, which indicate that there are 80%

who are of child-bearing age, of which 93% will have children during their working lives. Again, the responses to this question confirms the impression that these unions represent, at this time, an older group of working women whose child-bearing years are behind them (Table 10).

TABLE 10
Plans to Have Children
Percent

	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	n=139
<u>Plan to Have Children</u>			
Yes	4.3	2.8	
No	81.2	84.5	
Don't Know	13.0	12.7	

Education

The two unions differed slightly along this variable. 54% of the ACTWU population had finished their education with eighth grade, 21% with 11th grade, and 21% with a High School diploma, while 59% of the AFSCME workers had received a High School diploma and 31% had earned a college degree (Table 11).

TABLE 11
Educational Level Achieved
Percent

<u>Education Level</u>	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	n=136
1-8	54.5	0	
9-11	21.2	5.7	
H.S. diploma	21.2	52.9	
College	3.0	31.4	
College plus	0	10.0	

Race

The population of the ACTWU sample, drawn largely from the New Bedford/Fall River area and employed in the area clothing factories, was primarily Portuguese. This ethnic segment (85% of the ACTWU sample) identified itself as White (non-Hispanic). The AFSCME sample, though largely White (67%), had a 25% Black membership. There was negligible Oriental representation in the union membership (Table 12).

TABLE 12
Racial Composition of Sample

	Percent		
	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	n=132
<u>Race</u>			
White	84.6	67.2	
Black	0	25.4	
Hispanic	15.4	6.0	
American Indian	0	1.5	

Size of Company

Most (61%) of the ACTWU workers were employed in small factories (under 1,000 employees) with 34% employed in medium sized companies (1,000 -4,000 employees), while the AFSCME workers were distributed fairly evenly in agencies ranging in size from small (41%) through medium (22%), medium-large (19%) to large (over 10,000 employees, 18%) (Table 13).

TABLE 13
Size of Company

	Percent		
	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	n=133
<u>Size of Company</u>			
Small, under 1,000	61.5	41.2	
Medium, 1,000-4,000	33.8	22.1	
Medium Large, 4,000-10,000	4.6	19.1	
Large, Over 10,000	0	17.6	

Extent of Unionization

The reported perceptions of the two worker samples were that a large majority of the workers at their companies (80% from ACTWU and 71% from AFSCME) were union members (Table 14).

TABLE 14
Extent of Company Unionization
Percent

	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	n=134
<u>Company Unionized</u>			
Yes	80.0	71.0	
No	7.7	13.0	
Partially	12.3	15.9	

Section II

Child Care Benefits, Union Efforts and Job Satisfaction

Responses to the survey regarding the relationship of availability of employer-supported child care and family benefits and employee attitudes towards their company and union revealed little worker expectation of company or union support for family concerns, and a corresponding acceptance of the lack of family supports. Individual child care benefits were reported by workers to be available in very few companies. Although job satisfaction went up when child care benefits were available, satisfaction with their company was reported as relatively high in the absence of family-related benefits. Just over half of the respondents reported that their unions considered child care issues "not

important" in bargaining efforts. Discussion of these issues and Tables 15-28 follows.

Benefits

Given a comprehensive list of possible employer-supported child care benefits (including flexible work hours, part-time work options, flexible leave days, work-at-home opportunities, extension of maternity leave, employer contribution for child care costs, before-tax salary reduction, information and counseling about child care, or company support of a child care center), over 50% of the respondents (55% in ACTWU and 52% from AFSCME) reported that there were no child care benefits available at their company, for a combined frequency of 54%. (Maternity leave was included as a company benefit only if it was extended beyond the traditional six weeks paid leave.) 45% of the ACTWU respondents and 48% from AFSCME (for a combined frequency of 46%) claimed to have at least one of the listed child care benefits available to them (Table 15).

TABLE 15
Company Provision of One Child Care Benefit

Percent

	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	<u>n=138</u>
<u>Child Care Benefits</u>			
No benefits	55.1	52.1	
One benefit	44.9	47.9	

When responses to the list of possible benefits were tallied to ascertain whether there was more than one child care benefit available to workers at their company 78% of the ACTWU workers and 65% from AFSCME (for a combined

frequency of 72%) reported that there were not two employer-supported child care benefits available. 21% of the ACTWU respondents and 34% of those from AFSCME reported that there were two employer-supported child care benefits available to them (Table 16).

TABLE 16
Company Provision of Two Child Care Benefits
Percent

	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	n=139
<u>Child Care Benefits</u>			
No benefits	78.3	65.7	
Two benefits	21.7	34.3	

Importance of Child Care in Union Bargaining Efforts

51% of all respondents reported that child care-related benefits were "not important" in their union's bargaining efforts (54% from AFSCME and 48% from ACTWU). 30% of all respondents perceived child care benefits as "very important" in union bargaining (25% from AFSCME and 35% from ACTWU), while 20% of those surveyed felt child care benefits were "important" in union negotiations (22% from AFSCME and 18% from ACTWU). The responses of the comparatively high frequency (30%) of members who reported high union priority for child care benefits in bargaining negotiations were not supported during telephone or in-person interviews where it was possible to establish some trust in the interviewer, and may be a reflection of this cohort's acquiescence towards authority (here invested in the union), and apprehension about writing anything negative about the union. It is perhaps significant that there were twelve missing responses to this question (Table 17).

TABLE 17

Importance of Child Care in Union Bargaining Efforts

	Percent		
	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	n=128
<u>Importance in Bargaining</u>			
Not important	47.6	53.8	
Important	17.5	21.5	
Very important	34.9	24.6	

Satisfaction with Company

Despite the paucity of employer-sponsored, family-related benefits a majority of all respondents (63%) reported a high degree of satisfaction in working for their company (64% from AFSCME and 62% from ACTWU). This finding is corroborated by the job longevity of the workers in the sample and reinforces the impression of passive acceptance of existing company policies and concern about expressing negative feelings about the company in writing. Telephone and personal interviews elicited more candid comments (Table 18).

TABLE 18

Extent of Respondents' Satisfaction with Company

	Percent		
	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	n=137
<u>Satisfaction with Company</u>			
Low satisfaction	38.2	36.2	
High satisfaction	61.8	63.8	

Breakdown of Company-Sponsored Child Care Benefits

Of the 46% of the respondents who reported availability of one child care benefit at their company (see Table 15), no specific child care benefit was reported as available to workers in a majority of the companies covered in the survey. Extended maternity leave was the child care benefit reported as most available to the workers, as reported by a total of 35% of the respondents in both unions. 27% of the respondents reported availability of flexible work hours and 24% reported the possibility of flexible time off. 14% revealed that they had the possibility of part time work when necessary. All other child care benefits mentioned drew a response rate of under 7%. This lack of predominance of a single child care benefit is possibly a function of the lack of a younger cohort of workers, more clearly in need of child care services (Table 19).

TABLE 19

Child Care Benefit Options Available to Respondents

Percent

ACTWU AFSCME (n=139)

Child Care Benefit Options Available

Flexible work hours	23.5	29.6
Part-time work	14.5	14.1
Flexible time off	21.7	26.8
Work-at-home	0	2.8
Extended maternity leave	29.0	40.8
Deferred Compensation Plan	1.4	1.4
Child care information	1.4	7.0
Contribution to child care expenses	2.9	2.8
On-site child care	0	7.0
Off-site child care support	1.4	5.6
Workplace child care seminars	0	12.7

Child Care Benefits Used by Respondents

When workers were asked to identify the company-sponsored child care benefits they had actually utilized, the usage frequencies were extremely low. A total of 14% of the respondents from both unions reported that they had exercised the flexible work hours option and 11% had used the flexible time off option. 9% of the workers had taken advantage of the extended maternity leave option. Of workers reporting availability of some other company-sponsored child care benefits, none was used by more than 6% of the respondents. This low usage rate may be attributable to the fact that a majority of recipients were over 35 (Table 20).

TABLE 20

Child Care Benefits Used by Respondents

	Percent		
	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	(n=139)
<u>Company-Sponsored Benefits Used</u>			
Flexible work hours	13.0	14.1	
Part-time work	10.1	1.4	
Flexible time off	7.2	15.5	
Work-at-home	0	0	
Extended maternity leave	13.0	5.6	
Deferred Compensation Plan	1.4	1.4	
Child care information	1.4	2.9	
Contribution to child care expenses	2.9	1.4	
On-site child care	0	2.9	
Off-site child care support	1.4	1.4	
Workplace child care seminars	1.4	4.2	

Child Care Benefits Desired by Respondents

When workers were asked which company-sponsored child-care benefits, not currently offered by their employer, they would find helpful in balancing work and family responsibilities, all of the options were mentioned by a fairly equal number of respondents. Flexible work hours was desired by 23% of the respondents, employer contribution to child care expenses by 21% and on-site child care by 21%. The same percentage felt that a flexible time off option would be helpful while 17% mentioned the opportunity to work part-time. The least selected option was work-at-home; it was chosen by 12% of the respondents. 21% of the respondents replied that none of the options would be helpful. This may reflect the age (over 35) of these respondents (Table 21).

TABLE 21

Child Care Benefits Respondents Would Find Helpful

Percent

ACTWUAFSCME

(n=140)

Benefits Respondents Would Find Helpful

Flexible work hours	17.4	28.2
Part-time work	10.1	23.9
Flexible time off	21.7	19.7
Work-at-home	5.8	18.3
Extended maternity leave	18.8	14.1
Deferred Compensation Plan	13.0	21.1
Child care information	11.6	19.7
Contribution to child care expenses	18.8	23.9
On-site child care	14.5	28.2
Off-site child care support	11.6	23.9
Workplace child care seminars	13.0	21.1
None of the above	21.7	21.7

Relationship of Benefits to Retention

When queried as to whether company-sponsorship of any new child care benefit would influence them to remain at their present job the number of responses to this questions fell. As reported by respondents they felt that they had to remain at their present job for financial reasons, no matter what conditions prevailed. Of those that responded to the question 16% mentioned employer contributions towards child care expenses as influential and 15% would find on-site child care influential in their decision to remain on the job. 14% mentioned flexible work hours and 12% selected part-time work, a DCAP plan and employer-support of community child care (Table 22).

TABLE 22

Child Care Benefits Influential in Retention of Respondents

	Percent	
	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u> (n=140)
<u>Benefits Influential in Retention</u>		
Flexible work hours	10.1	16.9
Part-time work	11.6	12.7
Flexible time off	10.1	9.9
Work-at-home	5.8	12.7
Extended maternity leave	8.7	2.9
Deferred Compensation Plan	8.7	15.5
Child care information	7.2	8.5
Contribution to child care expenses	11.6	19.7
On-site child care	14.5	15.7
Off-site child care support	10.1	14.3
Workplace child care seminars	8.7	8.6
None of the above	24.6	20.0

Support for Union Bargaining Efforts

Respondents were asked whether they would be willing to support union efforts to gain employer-supported child care benefits, even if they weren't going to utilize child care benefits at this time. An overwhelming 86% of the workers supported this active role for their union; apparently workers past the child bearing years still favor provision of child care benefits. However 22% of the respondents did not reply to this question (29% from ACTWU, 16% from AFSCME). The lack of response to this question may be attributable to employee reluctance to take a potentially controversial position, particularly for the more insular ACTWU population (Table 23).

TABLE 23

Respondents' Support of Union Bargaining for Child Care Benefits

	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	n=109
<u>Willing to Support Union Efforts</u>			
Yes	38	56	
No	11	4	

Effect of Availability of Child Care Benefits on Worker Population

In order to measure the efficacy of employer-supported child care benefits in reducing worker stress, increasing employee retention, and maximizing worker productivity, workers with children were asked to identify the company-sponsored benefits they had utilized, along the following dimensions: worker stress, retention and productivity. Since only a small number of respondents had access to company-supported child care benefits (see sections 15 and 19), the total responses to this section was necessarily small;

only 25% of the survey participants (n=35), responded to the questions in this section.

Helpfulness of Benefits in Reducing Worker Stress

The conflicts that arise from employee attempts to meet both work and family responsibilities are a cause of worker stress. Workers were asked to rank the importance of specific company-supported child care benefits that they had used, in terms of helping them balance their work and family responsibilities. They recorded their responses on a scale of 1 to 5 (where 1 indicated the benefit was "not important" to 5 indicating it was "very important").

The benefit that had the highest percentage of respondent selection as very important in assisting these workers in managing work and home responsibilities was the opportunity for extended maternity leave, with 65% of the respondents ranking it "very important". The opportunity for flexible work hours was selected by 57% of the respondents as very important, for part-time work by 55% and opportunity for flexible time off by 46% of the respondents. The benefit least often selected as important in balancing work and family responsibilities was participation in a before-tax salary reduction plan (DCAP). This benefit is not yet available to many workers (Table 24).

The benefit that was identified most frequently as 'not important' in assisting workers in managing work and home responsibilities was the opportunity to work at home, with 78% of the respondents ranking it "not important". Workers perceived this benefit option to present difficulties in managing work and home responsibilities. Employer support of on-site child care was selected as "not important" by 77% of the respondents from ACTWU and by 40% from AFSCME. This may reflect the availability of more extended family to provide child care in the close knit ACTWU population. Child care information was chosen as not important by 72% and workplace child care seminars by 69% of the respondents. These figures may reflect lack of

availability of these benefits. Employer assistance with child care expenses was selected as not important in balancing work and family responsibilities by a surprisingly high 67% of the respondents. Participation in a before-tax salary reduction plan (DCAP) was selected as not important by 67%. This benefit is not yet available to many workers (Table 25).

TABLE 24
Benefits Identified as Very Important in Reducing Stress

	Percent (n=35)		
	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	<u>AVERAGE</u>
<u>Benefits Very Important in Reducing Stress</u>			
Flexible work hours	52.2	66.7	57.1
Part-time work	52.7	62.5	55.5
Flexible time off	50.0	37.5	46.5
Work-at-home	18.2	28.6	22.2
Extended maternity leave	60.0	77.8	65.5
Deferred Compensation Plan	16.7	50.0	14.3
Child care information	28.6	25.0	27.8
Employer help with child care expenses	26.7	40.0	30.0
On-site child care	23.1	60.0	33.3
Off-site child care support	35.7	28.6	47.6
Workplace child care seminars	30.8	66.7	42.1

TABLE 25

Benefits Identified as Not Important in Reducing Stress

Percent	(n=35)		
	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	<u>AVERAGE</u>
<u>Benefits Not Important in Reducing Stress</u>			
Flexible work hours	43.5	25.0	37.1
Part-time work	47.4	25.0	40.7
Flexible time off	40.0	62.5	46.4
Work-at-home	81.8	71.4	77.8
Extended maternity leave	35.0	22.2	31.0
Deferred Compensation Plan	66.7	50.0	64.3
Child care information	71.4	25.0	72.2
Employer help with child care expenses	66.7	60.0	65.0
On-site child care	76.9	40.0	66.7
Off-site child care support	64.3	71.4	52.4
Workplace child care seminars	69.2	33.3	57.9

Importance of Benefits in Respondents' Retention

Workers were asked to report on the importance of availability of child care benefits in their decision to remain with their company at this time. The low response rate to this question corroborates the finding that this worker population is driven by financial considerations, not by availability of specific benefits. These workers have chosen to remain at their place of employment with or without family benefits because few other employment options are available to them. Of those that did respond to this question, 46% reported that the availability of flexible work hours was most important in their decision to remain with their present employer. 36% stated that the opportunity for

extended maternity leave was very important in their decision to remain and 37% chose flexible leave time. The opportunity to work-at-home was not a factor in the decision to continue at their place of employment, with only 12% of the respondents ranking it as very important (Table 26).

Corroboration for this population's high retention rate despite a lack of child care benefits is found in the high percentages of benefits selected as not important in worker's decision to remain with their company. 72% responded that employer help with child care expenses was not important in their retention and 69% said the same about on-site child care. 67% felt that employer support of off-site child care was not important to their decision and 81% felt that the opportunity to work at home was not critical.

TABLE 26

Benefits Identified as Very Important in Employee Retention

Percent (n = 35)

	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	<u>AVERAGE</u>
<u>Benefits Important in Respondents' Retention</u>			
Flexible work hours	38.9	66.7	45.9
Part-time work	37.5	25.0	35.0
Flexible time off	40.0	25.0	36.9
Work-at-home	0	40.0	12.6
Extended maternity leave	25.0	66.7	36.4
Deferred Compensation Plan	8.3	33.3	13.3
Child care information and counseling	35.7	50.0	38.9
Employer help with child care expenses	21.4	50.0	27.8
On-site child care	18.2	60.0	31.3
Off-site child care support	20.0	60.0	33.4
Workplace child care seminars	18.2	40.0	25.0

TABLE 27
Benefits Identified as Not Important in Employee Retention
Percent

	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	<u>AVERAGE</u>
<u>Benefits Not Important in Respondents' Retention</u>			
Flexible work hours	44.4	33.3	41.7
Part-time work	56.3	50.0	55.0
Flexible time off	53.3	75.0	57.9
Work-at-home	90.9	60.0	81.3
Extended maternity leave	62.5	33.7	54.5
Deferred Compensation Plan	75.0	66.7	73.3
Child care information and counseling	64.3	50.0	61.1
Employer help with child care expenses	78.6	50.0	72.2
On-site child care	81.8	40.0	68.8
Off-site child care support	80.0	40.0	66.7
Workplace child care seminars	72.7	40.0	62.5

(n = 35)

Importance of Child Care Benefits in Respondents' Productivity

Workers were asked about the importance of employer-supported child care benefits they had used in enabling them to have been more productive during work hours. Again, since the total number of workers who had child care benefits available to them was small, the data is based on a limited sample. Of those responding, 50% reported that the opportunity to work flexible hours was very important to their productivity. 42% felt that the opportunity for extended maternity leave enabled them to be more productive upon their return (67% of those from AFSCME) and 44% selected on-site child care as important to their productivity (60% of those from AFSCME). Only 23% felt that the opportunity to

work-at-home was conducive for greater productivity. In general the AFSCME population felt that availability of child care benefits was more important to their productivity than the ACTWU population. This may be related to greater access to benefits for this population (Table 28). Of those responding to this question 76% reported that the opportunity to work at home was not important to their productivity (83% from ACTWU). 70% felt that the opportunity for part time employment did not enable them to be more productive when they worked (80% from AFSCME) (Table 29).

TABLE 28
Benefits Identified as Very Important to Worker Productivity

Percent	(n = 35)		
	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	<u>AVERAGE</u>
<u>Benefits Helpful in Respondents' Productivity</u>			
Flexible work hours	47.1	55.6	50.0
Part-time work	26.7	20.0	25.0
Flexible time off	26.3	25.0	30.0
Work-at-home	16.6	40.0	23.5
Extended maternity leave	30.8	66.7	42.1
Deferred Compensation Plan	33.4	50.0	37.5
Child care information and counseling	38.5	50.0	41.2
Employer help with child care expenses	30.8	50.0	35.3
On-site child care	36.4	60.0	43.8
Off-site child care support	33.4	60.0	41.2
Workplace child care seminars	25.0	50.0	31.3

TABLE 29
Benefits Identified as Not Important to Worker Productivity
Percent

	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	<u>AVERAGE</u>
<u>Benefits Not Helpful in Respondents' Productivity</u>			
Flexible work hours	47.1	44.4	46.2
Part-time work	66.7	80.0	70.0
Flexible time off	62.5	75.0	65.0
Work-at-home	83.3	60.0	76.5
Extended maternity leave	69.2	33.3	57.9
Deferred Compensation Plan	66.7	50.0	62.5
Child care information and counseling	61.5	50.0	58.8
Employer help with child care expenses	61.5	50.0	58.8
On-site child care	63.6	40.0	56.3
Off-site child care support	58.3	40.0	52.9
Workplace child care seminars	58.3	50.0	56.3
	(n = 35)		

Reasons for Non-Use of Child Care Benefits

Employers and unions want to plan benefits packages that will meet the actual needs of their worker population and accomplish their goals of increased employee morale, retention and productivity. Planners expect that if child care benefits are available to employees they would be utilized. For this reason we asked workers who had children and access to employer-supported child care benefits but who had not utilized them during the past year, to identify the reasons for lack of participation. 50% of those responding replied that they did not need the services offered (70% from AFSCME). This finding correlates with the age (over 35) of the majority of the participants from AFSCME. 43% of the

workers (61% from ACTWU) replied that no services were available. The assumption can be made that this group would have used a benefit if it were available. Reasons such as "lack of supervisor support", "not the right service", or "not convenient" drew very little or no response (under 4%) from respondents (Table 30).

TABLE 30

Reasons Identified by Respondents for Non-Use of Child Care Benefits

	Percent		
	<u>ACTWU</u>	<u>AFSCME</u>	<u>AVERAGE</u>
<u>Reasons for Non-Use of Child Care Benefits</u>			
Did not need them	27.8	70.0	50.0
No services offered	61.1	27.5	43.4
Not convenient	8.3	0	3.9
Other	2.8	2.5	2.6
			(n=76)

Child Care Benefits and Employee Salary

Support for the hypothesis that fewer child care benefits are currently offered by companies in order to retain lower salaried employees, and more child care benefits are offered to higher salaried employees, is evaluated through crosstabulation in Table 31. As indicated in the table 78% of the respondents with lower salaries (under \$15,000), receive no child care benefits as compared to 22% in this salary cohort who receive some child care benefit. (Because the frequency of particular child care benefits was statistically sparse all child care benefits were recoded as "any child care benefit".) Of the workers who earned over \$15,000, 59% received no child care benefits as opposed to

41% who received some benefit. Thus there appears to be some support for the hypotheses, however these results were not statistically significant at the .05 level of significance.

TABLE 31
Crosstabulation of Child Care Benefits by Employee Salary

		SALARY	
		Lower	Higher
B			
E	No benefits	78.3%	59.2%
N			
E	Any benefits	<u>21.7%</u>	<u>40.8%</u>
F		100%	100%
I			
T		(60)	(76)
S	Chi square=5.60230	df=1	N.S.

Child Care Benefits and Job Satisfaction

When both lower and higher salaried employees are grouped together and examined (Table 32), we find that 70% of the employees whose company offers some child care benefit report high satisfaction with their employer as compared to 53% whose employer offered no child care benefits. Of the employees who reported low satisfaction with their company, 47% had no access to child care benefits while 30% had some child care benefit offered. This relationship was not statistically significant at the .05 level.¹

¹Interestingly in Harris' 1985 flexible benefits plans survey for Equitable Life Assurance Society, 55 percent of the employees who could choose benefits said they were very satisfied with their jobs, while only 45 percent of those with no options said they were very satisfied.

TABLE 32

Crosstabulation of Job Satisfaction by Child Care Benefits Offered
(All Employees)

S A T I S F A C T I O N	CHILD CARE BENEFITS	
	No Benefit Offered	Benefit Offered
Low	46.8%	29.7%
High	<u>53.2%</u>	<u>70.3%</u>
	100%	100%
	(62)	(74)
Chi square=4.18158	df=1	p=.04

Child Care Benefits, Employee Salary and Job Satisfaction

Support for the hypothesis that company provision of child care benefits that meet the demographic needs of their employees will significantly increase employee job satisfaction is found in Table 33. In the lower salary cohort (under \$15,000), 77% of the employees whose company offered some child care benefit reported high satisfaction with their employer, while 50% of the employees who received no child care benefits reported high satisfaction with their employer. In the higher salary cohort (over \$15,000), 81% of the employees who received some child care benefit reported high satisfaction with their employer, while 19% of those receiving some benefit reported low

satisfaction. The relationship is statistically significant at the .05 level of significance for both the lower and higher salaried employees.

TABLE 33
Crosstabulation of Job Satisfaction
Child Care Benefits Offered by Respondents' Salary

		CHILD CARE BENEFITS			
		Salary Under \$15,000		Over \$15,000	
		No Benefits	Benefits	No Benefits	Benefits
S A T I S F A C T I O N	Low	53.1%	33.3%	42.9%	27.7%
	High	<u>46.9%</u>	<u>66.7%</u>	<u>57.1%</u>	<u>72.3%</u>
		100%	100%	100%	100%
		(32)	(27)	(28)	(47)

O Chi square=2.32725 df=1p>.05 Chi square=1.82371 df=1 p>.05

Child Care Benefits and Union Bargaining

Support for the hypothesis that in companies where unions have actively bargained for child care benefits, employees report more job satisfaction is found and examined in Table 34. 76% of the workers who reported that child care benefits were "very important" in union bargaining efforts claimed high satisfaction with their company, as compared to 52% who reported child care benefits as "not a union priority" and 64% an "important" union priority. Of those workers who claimed low satisfaction with their company, 48% reported that child care benefits were "not important" in union negotiations as compared with

24% who stated that child care benefits were "very important" in union negotiations and 36% who felt they were "important" in bargaining efforts. These results are statistically significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 34

Crosstabulation of Job Satisfaction by Importance
of Child Care Benefits in Union Bargaining

IMPORTANCE OF CHILD CARE BENEFITS IN BARGAINING				
		Not Important	Important	Very Important
F	Low	48.4%	36.0%	23.7%
	High	<u>51.6%</u>	<u>64.0%</u>	<u>76.3%</u>
		100%	100%	100%
		(64)	(25)	(38)
Chi square=6.25280		df=2	p=.04	

Respondents' Support for Union Bargaining Efforts

Employee willingness to support union bargaining efforts to obtain child care benefits is examined in Table 35, comparing lower (under \$15,000), and higher (over \$15,000) salaried workers. Workers at each level were overwhelmingly supportive of active union efforts, with 74% of the lower salaried union members and 94% of the higher salaried members claiming support. 25% of the lower salaried workers and 6% of the higher salaried

employees stated that they do not support union bargaining for child care benefits. These results are not statistically significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 35

Crosstabulation of Respondents' Willingness to Support Union Bargaining
by Salary

WILLINGNESS		SALARY	
		Lower	Higher
Yes		74.4%	93.8%
No		<u>25.6%</u>	<u>6.3%</u>
		100%	100%
		(43)	(64)

Chi square=7.97406 df=1

N.S.

In order to explore whether active union bargaining to obtain child care benefits actually resulted in the reality of child care benefits available to workers, we conducted a crosstabular analysis along these dimensions. Since only 46% of the workers in the sample reported availability of any child care benefits, there was little association between union priority for child care in negotiations and availability of child care benefits. As shown in Table 36, workers who perceived their union as actively conducting bargaining efforts, as well as those who did not, claimed unavailability of child care benefits.

TABLE 36
Crosstabulation of Availability of Child Care Benefits
by Importance in Union Negotiation

		IMPORTANCE IN UNION NEGOTIATION	
		Not Important	Important
B E N E F I T S	No benefits	66.2%	67.7%
	Any benefits	<u>33.8%</u>	<u>32.3%</u>
		100%	100%
		(65)	(62)

Chi square=0.03616 df=1

N.S.

Support for Union Bargaining Efforts and Worker Age

We wanted to explore the idea that worker age affected support for union bargaining for child care benefits (whether workers over 35 indicated their unions were less supportive than those under 35). Thus we examined (see Table 37) whether there was a relationship between worker perception of the importance of child care benefits in union bargaining and the age of employees. Almost equal numbers of employees of the "below 35" and "above 35" age groups reported that child care benefits were "very important" in union bargaining efforts (31% of the younger group and 29% of the older group). 46% of the younger cohort and 53% of the older cohort stated that child care benefits were "not important" in their union's collective bargaining efforts, while 23% of the younger group and 18% of the older group reported that child care benefits

were "important" in union negotiation. This finding is statistically significant at the .7 level. There were 12 missing observations to this question, consistent with other questions where answering a survey about union activities was perceived as threatening job security.

TABLE 37

Crosstabulation of Union Bargaining Efforts for Child Care Benefits by Respondents' Age

I M P O R T A N C E		AGE	
		Less than 35	35 Plus
	Not important	46.2%	52.8%
	Important	23.1%	18.0%
	Very important	<u>30.8%</u>	<u>29.2%</u>
		100%	100%
		(39)	(89)
Chi square=0.61966		df=2	p=>.05

Section III

Profile of Union Women Interviewed about Child Care Benefits

Interviews with the eight union women provided opportunities to gather in-depth responses and supplied vivid first-hand experiences of combining work and family. The interviewees were between twenty-one and seventy-four years of age (their mean age was 45) and had work histories that ranged from six months to fifty years (the mean work-life was 21 years). The youngest age of entry into the workforce from this group was 14; the oldest, 21. All interviewees were white; four were Portuguese speaking at home. All but one of the interviewees had been married; two had been divorced and two had remarried. Thirty-eight percent had completed less than a high school degree. All but one of the interviewees had child care responsibilities during their working life.

This interview profile closely resembles the profile presented from the questionnaires. The comparability of the demographic characteristics of the eight interviewees to those of the questionnaire respondents suggests that the insights gained from the interviews may apply to the general population of women in the unions studied. Interview data provided detailed information on the experiences of some women workers with child care arrangements, company attitudes and treatment of women with family responsibilities and union involvement with workers' family problems. The one area of investigation in which interview responses differed from questionnaire responses was that of workers' perception of union activity to obtain child care benefits. It appears that the interview process encouraged the formation of trust between worker and interviewer. Workers were less afraid that answers might lead to loss of jobs and interviewees were thus willing to speak more candidly than those responding to the written questionnaire.

Child Care History

All but one of the interviewed workers has combined child rearing responsibilities with a work life. The average number of children they had raised (or were raising) was 1.9. Responses to the question about child care arrangements indicated they had used a variety of child care arrangements, but all those with children had used family members (mother, mother-in-law, father) for at least 50% of their child care. Other child care arrangements used were a combination of neighbors, friends and child care centers. A typical response to the question about what child care arrangements they had utilized was "I was very lucky. I had my father to take care of my children. I don't know what I would have done if I had to leave my child with a stranger."

When family members were utilized for child care no payments were expected or made for the care, though references were made to occasional gifts of money to the caregiver. Aldina said "My mother-in-law didn't expect any money; taking care of the children was what she could do for us. She was very poor so every once in a while we would help her out." One interviewee reported that she was not working at the moment because no family member was available to provide child care and she could not afford to pay for child care through local child resources.

Return to Work

When the women interviewed were asked how soon they came back to work after their baby(ies) were born, the mean age for returning to their job after childbirth was 3.25 months. They reported that no maternity benefits were available to them; there was no paid period of leave following the birth of a child and no paid hospital stay. One interviewee did say that the Doctor's fee for the birth was paid by the union. Interviewees stated that their reasons for returning to work when they did were a combination of family financial needs and fear

that their job would not be available to them if they remained out for any longer period of time. Donna said that after coming back to work when her child was 3 months old she then had to quit when he was a year old because "it all became too much for me".

Although there was no paid maternity or personal leave time the interviewees reported that permission to take unpaid time off for family emergencies was left to the discretion of supervisors. Interviewees stated that there was no company policy permitting employees unpaid leave to care for children but those workers considered valuable to the company were allowed to miss time without threat of losing their job. Workers considered less valuable were threatened with job loss if they missed work time or "punished" upon their return by being given the most undesirable job assignments (i.e. a sewing machine in an unheated section of the room or a job where they earned less money).

Employer-Supported Child Care Benefits

Responses of the interviewees to question 5, "Were you offered any child care benefits by your company?" were unanimously negative. These workers reported that no maternity leave was provided by their employers. Upon birth of a baby they lost their job, seniority and income. Their ability to return to work after time off for childbirth and particularly to the same job they held prior to childbirth was dependent on the personal decision of a supervisor or the employer. In the absence of company policies regarding time off for child-related time off, decisions were made as a result of personal relations between company supervisors and employees. Interviewees reported that in some cases an employer permitted a worker to assume a part-time work schedule following the birth of a baby, particularly if the worker was considered valuable to the company. Other benefits, such as assistance with child care costs, on-site

child care, flexible work schedules or time off for family emergencies were unknown to these workers. A 74 year old worker who had worked steadily for fifty years said things were worse now than in former times. She said "In the old days the bosses were dedicated. They didn't speak much English but they had compassion. They'd loan you money without interest if you had an emergency. Now the grandchildren are running the businesses and they are heartless. It's all business." One of the younger interviewees stated that some of the factories were now offering "mother's hours" of 7:00 - 3:00. She thought the 7:00 A.M. starting time was unrealistic for a mother with young children.

Time-Off

To the question "Did you ever ask for any time off for child-related matters?" all but one worker gave a negative response. When queried as to why they had never asked for any time off interviewees laughed knowingly or shook their heads. Their answers ranged from "If you asked you'd lose your job" to "You just knew not to ask" to "They'd punish you by transferring you to another section". One worker (age 31) reported that she had, on occasion asked for time off and got it "more or less - if it were a slow time". It would appear that in this area of child care under investigation the decision of the immediate supervisor was the determining factor.

To the question "Did you ever ask for any other assistance with a family-related matter?" the answers were more affirmative. One respondent stated that she had to ask for time off when her husband became ill. She was granted the time because, she said, "I was very good and they didn't want to lose me". Another worker replied that her "boss was pretty flexible because he was desperate". Still another interviewee responded that positive responses to requests for time off for family matters depended on the worker's seniority. Three respondents had never asked for time-off for family emergencies. It would seem that company supervisors were more tolerant of requests for time

off for family emergencies than specifically child care needs or requests. It may be reflective of administrative attitudes in general that illness of family members is more acceptable than child care matters.

When interviewees were queried as to whether they had ever used sick day benefits for child-related matters most interviewees responded that since they received no sick day benefits this was not a possibility.

Child Care Benefits Desired by Workers

Interviewees were asked, "Do you believe your employer should help you with family (child care) problems like time off for care of sick children, time off for children's medical appointments, assistance with child care arrangements, child care payments, the need to adjust your work schedule, or extended maternity leave?" They all responded in the affirmative, one adding "after so many months of work". When asked to specify which of the above child care benefits the employer should provide most respondents said that all were important. Some added items to the list such as child care "at the plant" and opportunities for part-time work. One worker said "Even unpaid maternity leave longer than eight weeks would help"; another said "longer maternity leave - at least at half salary".

When interviewees were asked whether they had ever asked for any of these benefits most respondents replied negatively. When asked why they hadn't asked for them their answers were "We knew the rules", "It wouldn't do any good", and "They just wouldn't consider it". Some of the respondents said that "friends" had asked for benefits and been turned down. Apparently these workers were so convinced by administrative attitude and behavior that their employer would not supply any benefits that it didn't even occur to them to ask for any or have any expectations for them.

Effect of Child Care Problems on Worker Production

When interviewees were asked whether child care problems ever caused them to have problems at work or be less efficient responses were somewhat surprising. Several workers denied that child care problems ever caused them to be less efficient; responses included "I knew that neighbors would look in on them", "No, my mother-in-law was wonderful" and, significantly "On piece work you had to put it (family concerns) out of your mind or you wouldn't make any money". One respondent said "No, if there was something wrong I'd take time off and lose the money". The reluctance of respondents to admit to a lessening of efficiency suggests that further studies might want to reword this question and ask whether any other workers were less efficient on the job as a result of child care concerns.

Other respondents mentioned frequent feelings of worry, guilt and stress at work as a result of child care problems. To the question "Did you ever spend time at work worrying about your children?" interviewees responded affirmatively with statements such as "Everybody does". Several interviewees mentioned calling home to check on children on pay phones, and "losing the money" or "sneaking out". One worker said "The hardest part was that there was never enough time to do everything".

Union Involvement in Child Care

To the questions "Has your union worked to get child care benefits at your company?" and "Is your union interested in your child care problems?" those interviewed gave an overwhelmingly negative response. When asked to explain their answer respondents remarked "There was no one to go to - I didn't even try"; "They did nothing. They're like this with the bosses (gesture of two fingers together)". A commonly expressed worker belief was that the unions were corrupt. Several respondents reported that they "saw payoffs". Other respondents smiled or shrugged or replied "I don't think so" or "I don't know".

Responses of the interviewees appeared to indicate strong negative feelings about the lack of tangible benefits from their unions and a belief that local union representatives were working "for the bosses" and not for the membership. To the question "Did you or any of your co-workers ever request that your union try to negotiate for child care benefits?" most interviewees replied in the negative ("I didn't try"). When asked why not, responses included "You'd probably be fired or get shit work"; "I couldn't get anything anyway"; "We weren't told anything - we couldn't find out what benefits, if any, we had". A most significant answer was "Workers didn't expect any; there were no health benefits even". This response represents the workers' commonly expressed attitude of no expectation that their union would work to better their working conditions. Even though the local unions actually supplied benefits for the workers such as a Health Care Center and paid hospital stay the workers interviewed still expressed strong doubts about their union's willingness to try to get child care benefits.

Interviewees also replied negatively to the questions "Would you say that your local union is concerned about your work/family problems?" and "Can you talk to them about your problems?"; the most tempered response was "I don't think so". One respondent said "There was one woman (union representative) you could talk to. She got fired too". These responses indicate a clear lack of communication between union representatives and the membership.

We asked "Would you support your union if they made child care benefits a high priority at the bargaining table or during contract negotiations, even if you wouldn't be able to benefit from them at this time?" Responses were affirmative although one respondent said "Yes, but not if it meant losing out on higher wages". Other responses included "It's only right" and "Other people (workers) wouldn't mind; they know what it's like". Though evidencing little faith in union

action the workers were convinced that their fellow workers would support union activity in this arena.

When asked to "Please comment on what the union could do to assist you to combine work and family responsibilities." two interviewees mentioned job security. "If the boss doesn't like you you're out of there" responded one interviewee. A 28 year old respondent said the union could fight for more part time jobs, saying "There's no way I can work and raise my child and there's no child care center near my house." Another worker, echoing these feelings, said "They could fight for child care as part of the contract." Yet another worker agrees, saying "They should get a day care center close by the factories."

Job Satisfaction

The question "Have you been satisfied with your job?" elicited non-committal answers and shrugs from most of the respondents. Apparently for these workers a job is a financial necessity, not something that brings satisfaction. "I was a rebel" says Margie who talks about fighting the 'bosses' and the union 'system' all her work life. The follow-up question, "If any (additional) child care benefits were offered by your company would you have been more satisfied with your job?" drew a positive response. "Why go to work when you pay so much for child care?" said a 31 year old respondent. "It would influence me to work there if there were child care" answered a 28 year old, "even if that company didn't pay as much."

When asked to "Please comment on what the company could do to assist you to combine work and family responsibilities." responses were varied. Family-related areas mentioned by the workers included assistance with child care expenses, flexible work hours, on-site day care ("I wouldn't mind paying for most of it"), part-time work and paid maternity leave ("Now you get 8 weeks unpaid time off when you have a baby"). One worker with a young child said

"Child care. That's the reason I'm not working right now. I'm lucky; we can manage without my salary for a while".

Summary

Considerable media attention and increasing business and union examination has focused on a wide range of responses to the changes in the nation's workforce. However the group of working women interviewed for this study has not experienced examples of the new workplace responsiveness and seems to represent the "old" way of treating worker/parents. This lack of company and union responsiveness to family concerns appears a particular reality for entry level and low-salaried women.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: IMPLICATIONS, SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

This decade's influx of women into the nation's workforce has caused further strain on an already insufficient and underfunded child care delivery system. Workers have turned to the corporate sector for additional support in the form of various child care benefits. Employers are increasingly responsive to consideration of viable benefit options in order to protect and attract a valuable employee pool. Unions are under pressure to give child care benefits a higher priority in negotiating efforts, both from within an increasingly female membership and from society at large. There is very little research that explores the contemporary union relationship to company provision of child care benefits. This study was essayed in order to obtain definitive information regarding the current family-related benefit realities for some union workers, to discover worker perceptions of union efforts to obtain child care benefits, and to assess membership support for increased union activity in this arena.

The study was conducted within two large-sized unions with female-intensive membership, in order to maximize the female return in a random mailing of the questionnaire. The unions surveyed generally represented lower-income employees (textile workers and clerical workers respectively). A questionnaire was constructed to elicit data regarding child care benefits available to union members and union participation in family benefits procurement. Telephone surveys and in-depth interviews provided further data.

Results of the study highlight one of the problems in working through the traditionally female membership unions. Since the worker population in these unions is relatively stable and older than the national average, child care is no longer the urgent concern it once was for these workers. Additionally, during their working years these employees have assumed a customarily passive stance towards employer responsibilities, including sponsorship of family-related benefits, a position not necessarily shared by the younger or newly entered members of the female workforce.

There was a response rate to the survey of 23%. This rate may be partially attributable to the large number of ethnic (Portuguese) workers in the apparel trade included in the sample, (although a Portuguese language version of the questionnaire was also mailed to the sample population), and to a general timidity towards authority (including the union), evinced by these low-income workers. Workers were more comfortable in the personal interviews (both in-person and telephone) than in replying in writing. In personal contacts they were anxious to share their experiences in attempting to combine their work and family life. Their answers indicated a passive attitude towards their employers, accepting the inevitability of few company-sponsored benefits and little union activity in negotiating for additional family supports.

In general the respondents reported a paucity of employer-sponsored benefits and little receptivity to their concerns regarding their family responsibilities. They shared a common identity with regard to difficulties encountered in combining work and family, as well as a stoic attitude towards economic and workplace realities which they equated with economic survival.

On the whole the respondents had not achieved higher levels of education nor did they have relatively well-paying or responsible jobs. They were older than the average female worker (70% were older than age 35), and had been on the job for over 5 (48% for over 10) years. Many of them had poor

English-language skills. Generally they believed that they had few job options and that their positions might be in jeopardy if they made any demands on their employer. Overall they had survived (or were surviving) the conflicting responsibilities of the child-rearing years without employer-assistance because work was a necessity for them and they did not consider employer assistance a possibility. They used an often-intricate combination of arrangements and strategies to resolve their child care issues, including use of family members, neighbors, personal sick days, and paid child care.

Limitations

The major limitation of this research was in the unequal distribution of questionnaires because of the number of mailings each union determined it could permit. Although efforts were made to have an equal number of questionnaires mailed to each union membership, internal union decisions made this impossible. Thus there were more union members contacted from ACTWU than from AFSCME. Data generated in this New England study of unionized working women therefore may not be directly generalizable to the national population of working women.

Another possible limitation in the data lies with the variable regarding race/ethnic background. After the union membership mailing lists were generated it was ascertained that a major portion of one union utilized in the study were members of Portuguese descent. The survey instrument provides the standard categories under Question 12 (racial/ethnic background), including Hispanic. Portuguese respondents identified themselves as White; thus we were unable to identify respondents.

The language and cultural barriers experienced by potential respondents of this group limited the response rate to 23%, lower than might have been expected for a comparable group of union workers without these handicaps. This was confirmed by follow-up telephone calls to nonrespondents and in

personal interviews when respondents confessed to embarrassment over their "poor english" and were willing to answer the questions via the telephone or in person. Several telephone respondents and interviewees expressed concern over "losing their job" if their supervisor thought they were 'complaining' to an outsider.

Implications of Findings

1. Despite a significant (and highly publicized) increase in the total amount of employer sponsorship of family-related benefits nationwide during this past decade these benefits were not realized by the respondents to this study. These, often entry level, workers were at the low end of the salary and benefit spectrum. Apparently employer need to recruit and retain this female intensive workforce did not extend to the provision of child care benefits or work policy adaptations. The lack of benefits may partially be attributable to the recognition by the companies of the job stability of this population, as well as the characteristically low self-esteem of these workers, which is evidenced in their reluctance to make any demands of their employers. The study indicates that the respondents with lower salaries received fewer child care benefits as compared with those earning higher salaries, affirming the hypothesis that the lower the salary cohort the fewer child-care benefits are available.

The increase in the panorama of employer-sponsored family-related benefits is found more frequently in industries identifying an urgent need to recruit and retain a valuable female workforce. This is usually an industry that targets for retention employees more highly trained and educated, both from within and outside the company, (and more highly renumerated), than the workers this study encompassed.

2. The local unions were not perceived by respondents as active in negotiating for increased family benefits, but it is not at all clear that the

membership urgently requested that they pursue child care issues. The topics of salary and job security were seen as having higher priority than child care to both workers and union negotiators during this period. The ACTWU workers in particular were concerned with the threat of factory closings or job cutbacks due to foreign competition and saw the union's role as involvement with those issues. In addition the union appeared to many respondents to be remote from their daily concerns and to assume a superior position, nonapproachable to many workers evidencing an exaggerated regard for authority.

The age of the workers did not affect worker perception of union efforts to obtain child care benefits. Comparable numbers of the "below 35" and the "over 35" cohorts (46% and 53% respectively) reported that child care issues were not important in their union's bargaining efforts. This would disprove the argument that only the younger workers would urge their union leaders to put child care on the negotiating agenda.

3. Company provision of family-related benefits would have significantly increased the job satisfaction of the workers. The workers who had child care benefits available to them reported significantly higher satisfaction with their company than those with no available child care benefits, thus affirming part of the hypothesis. This was particularly true in the the higher salaried cohort. The lower salaried (and less well educated) population was less willing to admit job dissatisfaction, perhaps because of fear of employer reprisal.

Lack of availability of extended maternity leave, flexible work schedules, assistance with child care costs and other child-care-related policies, coupled with the economic necessity for these employees to continue to work during the child-rearing years caused them to call in sick and spend time at work worrying about the child care arrangements for their children. The resultant stress and poor morale caused them to work less efficiently.

Company provision or nonprovision of child care benefits did not appear to significantly affect employee retention, rejecting that hypothesis. These

primarily low income respondents felt they had to remain at their present job for financial reasons, no matter what conditions prevailed or how difficult it was to manage work and family responsibilities.

4. Those workers who perceived their unions as having actively bargained for child care benefits also reported high satisfaction with their company, thus supporting the study's hypothesis. This finding appears to indicate that when unions place the felt concerns of their membership in the forefront of their efforts the workers feel valued, and their opinion of their job and employer is positive. It would seem to be in the best interest of both the employer and the union to maintain close relationships with regard to their membership's problems in combining work and family, keeping in mind the need to establish trust in this dialogue process.

5. Despite the fact that the population surveyed was older than the national average and, on the whole, past their child-rearing years there was general support from the respondents for union efforts to obtain child care benefits, thus affirming the hypothesis that workers will support union priorities from which they do not directly benefit. This appears to disprove the "lack-of-fairness" argument that union members will only endorse efforts to obtain additional company-sponsored benefits which they can take advantage of in the foreseeable future. Obviously efforts to recognize and provide assistance with the other urgent family concerns of memberships (i.e aging parents, debilitating family illness) by way of cafeteria plans would also address the issue of benefits advantages for particular employee cohorts.

6. Due to the general paucity of company-sponsored child care benefits available to the population studied we were not able to determine whether active union bargaining for child care benefits actually results in acquisition of these benefits. Where union members saw child care benefits as important in their union's bargaining efforts 68% still reported no available benefits. This

may be a function of other issues assuming a still higher priority or use of child care as a "throw away" item, to be put on the table and then eliminated in favor of other employer concessions.

This possibility would seem to be supported by the finding that when workers perceived child care as not important in their union's bargaining efforts almost the identical number (66%) reported no available benefits. Thus when the union's perceived interest in child care issues was not followed by success at the bargaining table we can assume that lack of bargaining energy was expended on these issues or other agendas were operating.

7. Although there are comparatively few statistically significant results for the statistical procedures used in the computation of the data these results must be seen in conjunction with the telephone and personal interviews which provide further confirmation. The statistics and interviews suggest that these respondents, as a group of low-income workers, are quite homogeneous in their characteristics, their perceptions, and their experiences in combining work and family responsibilities.

Suggestions for Further Research

The completion of this research has indicated that the following are areas which could profitably be explored:

1. In order to verify the accuracy of the data gathered for this investigation and to extend our knowledge base it would be useful to replicate the present study in additional union populations, traditionally female unions and those with a male dominated and mixed membership, national and local unions. In particular it would be useful to examine the rapidly expanding service industry unions with regard to availability of child care benefits and the activity of the service industry unions in negotiating for benefits. Since the present study found workers reluctant to commit themselves to written questionnaires it would seem promising to conduct a future study using an on-site interview format

alone, training a group of interviewers for this purpose. A study of the empty cells (those questions unanswered by the workers) might yield some useful results.

Replication of the study in businesses with a younger population of women would provide us with an opportunity to test the hypothesis that company provision of child care benefits will significantly increase employee retention and job satisfaction. It would also be useful to compare company sponsorship of family-related benefits in traditionally low-salaried occupations with those in largely professional or customarily higher-salaried occupations (e.g. lawyers, teachers). Replication of the study in factories in different geographic locations would provide important information as would a comparison of two or more ethnic backgrounds in the same union. A comparison of family-related benefits in corporations versus sweatshops may yield important data.

A comparison of the availability of company-sponsored, family-related benefits in fields with employee shortages (e.g. nursing) versus those with less recruitment pressure would enable the testing of hypotheses relating to employee retention and recruitment. A study of potential employees in industries experiencing a competitive recruitment market may provide compelling data about the importance of employer-sponsored family-related benefits in attracting the desired workforce. Important variables to consider would be job satisfaction, worker attrition and employment recruitment in the presence or absence of child care benefits.

2. The relationship between union efforts to negotiate for child care benefits and availability of those benefits should be further investigated. In those unions where unions have been actively bargaining for family-related benefits have these efforts been translated into tangible benefits or do child care issues get traded off in favor of salary or job security priorities?

Comparisons could be made between various unions where bargaining campaigns on behalf of child care have occurred in order to determine key factors leading to successful acquisition of benefits. This might include identification of the type of company/worker/union needs assessment utilized in prioritization of bargaining items, negotiation strategies and allocation of various funding resources.

3. It would also be useful to compare availability of family-related benefits in unionized versus non-unionized businesses. Is provision of child care benefits solely a function of a company's identification of the need to recruit and maintain an efficient, stable workforce or primarily a result of union efforts on behalf of its membership? Are unionized companies more, or less, likely to make child care a priority than progressive, non unionized firms?

4. There could be a study of various public-private-union-college partnerships with regard to provision of child care. The research would include the identification of stimuli for provision of services, the role of the union in acquisition of the service, the role of the college, activity of each participating segment and the relationship of child care benefits to the job satisfaction of workers. The relationship of availability of child care benefits to the recruitment and training needs of the companies could also be explored.

5. Nationwide, unions are concerned about a decline in union membership. A question that could be profitably researched is whether union efforts to obtain child care benefits affect worker perceptions sufficiently to effect an increase in union membership. The relationship between various union's bargaining efforts to obtain child care/family-related benefits and changes in size of union membership could be examined.

6. Further studies should be conducted to explore employee retention, recruitment and productivity with regard to the presence or availability of child care benefits. Comparable companies within the same industry could be researched as to job mobility records, employee return rates after maternity

leave, personal leave and sick days used and numbers of applicants for available jobs in relationship to employer sponsorship of child care benefits.

7. There could be an investigation of businesses that have instituted cafeteria plans or other employee benefits choice programs. What is the relationship of child care benefits to other benefits options? Which child care benefits has the company sponsored? What percentage of the workforce has used these benefits? For what length of time? What is the cost to the company and what return has the firm realized? How are the benefits monitored and managed? Where do these benefits belong in the organizational structure? Are any changes in provision of services being considered? Was a particular employee cohort targeted when benefits were added?

Recommendations

1. The presence of mothers of young children in the nation's workforce in ever increasing numbers is an economic and social reality for the foreseeable future. While the personal responsibility for the care of the children still lies with parents, it is clear that provision of services to assist workers with a myriad of child rearing burdens is in the best interest of the business community and ultimately to a society concerned with preparing the next generation of trained and educated workers and citizens. Necessary critical services for working parents run the gamut from availability of sufficient spaces in quality infant/toddler, preschool and after school day care programs, to company policies that recognize the need for personal family leave and flexible hours and part time work, to assistance with costs for child care in the form of direct subsidies or pre-tax salary reduction, to information and counseling about child care.

No one segment of society can assume sole charge for provision of the panoply of necessary services. While a larger percentage of the nation's

businesses than currently participate are, pragmatically, being urged to commit company resources in this arena, a variety of government-business-community-college-union partnerships must be stimulated in greater numbers than currently exist. One impetus for creation of these coalitions can be the union representatives at local shops as well as national union leaders. These union officers set priorities for contract negotiations and union initiatives. Education and sensitization of union representatives about the importance of the work/family issues faced by their increasingly female membership is a critical component leading to the formation of successful child care partnerships. Responsibility for the training of union representatives to provide access to worker's family concerns and the consequences of unresponsiveness should come from union management. Leadership in this endeavor can come from such organizations as the Coalition of Labor Union Women and those union leaders who have recognized the effect of family problems on the work patterns of employees.

2. Similarly the education and sensitization of company foremen, supervisors and middle managers to the importance of employee work/family issues to the company's prosperity is of critical importance. Responsibility for this training should emanate from the Personnel or Human Resource Managers of the business/industrial constellation and be reflected in companies' yearly in-service training workshop schedules. The training should include such components as empathetic listening skills, identification of employee concerns, problem-solving and brainstorming strategies, and rewards for flexible solutions to workers' family-related problems.

3. Most of the research on documented increases in company sponsorship of child care-related benefits indicates its location in areas of high employment with concomitant shortages in trained workers, particularly technical and professional workers, indicative of the economic factors that drive this support. Unskilled and entry-level workers (hence low-salaried) have, on

the whole, not profited from advances in benefits offerings, despite equal need for these services. When economic factors are not sufficiently strong to motivate business interest in provision of family-related benefits, progress in this area should emanate from legislative action.

Hearings conducted by the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, House of Representatives (1984, 1985, 1986, 1987) have been instrumental in gradually raising public and legislative awareness to the importance of child care benefits. Child care was an important plank in the campaigns of both Presidential candidates and although legislation to increase the supply and affordability of child care and mandate maternity benefits was not passed by the 42nd Congress it will be reintroduced. Continued effort by the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, focusing particularly in the area of employer-related child care benefits, is necessary in order to formulate a comprehensive nationwide employer related plan that would be beneficial to industry and increase the supply and access to high quality child care.

Another way that the federal and state governments can assume a leadership role in increasing the amount and quality of child care benefits is through tax incentives affecting industry and business. Corporations would be responsive to tax credits that encourage employer supported child care and that offer a broad range of options to the employer. Coalitions of employers for provision of child care should be encouraged through broad-based tax advantages (including credits for needs assessments, referral activities, start-up activities, as well as on-site programs or child care voucher subsidies) to the partners of such coalitions.

Recent surveys (Women's Bureau, 1980, and Child Care Information Services, 1981), indicate that only a small number of employers would be likely to become involved in providing child care for their employees even if current

incentives were expanded, unless almost all of their increased costs were reimbursed through reduced tax liabilities. New loan policies for employer-supported child care centers could therefore be promulgated, and fringe benefits could be excluded from taxation to encourage more flexible work hours, thereby lessening dependence on costly, non-family care. Dependence on non-family types of child care might be reduced if employed parents had greater flexibility in arranging their work schedules to include part-time work, flexible work hours, and job-sharing.

Plans for inclusion of child care facilities could become a standard component of federal and state government-awarded contracts, similar to the current provision for rent-free child care space in all new federal government buildings.

Federal legislation might well follow the lead of several states, i.e. Arizona. Governor Bruce Babbitt of that state proposed in his 1986 budget message, "Employers need to recognize the growing number of working parents and design flexible benefit packages which allow employees more choices and include child care benefits among the options. To assert the State's leadership role, I am asking the Department of Administration to develop optional benefit packages for State personnel which can be presented to employees for comments in the fall of 1986".

4. Despite clear evidence of increased collaboration between community colleges and the business/industry community, very little of this activity has occurred in the important area of the human services; most has been directed towards the vocational/technical fields. Yet companies needing to find solutions to the problems of attrition, recruitment and absenteeism related to the child care problems of working parents could well turn to the expertise found in the early childhood training programs located in most community colleges. Technical assistance could be provided by early childhood staff for companies considering options involving corporate provision of on or off-site child care,

flexible work and vacation time, increased or substitute employee benefits, information and referral services, and changes in delivery of employee compensation.

The community colleges, many with long experience and expertise in provision of services for young children and their families, have not taken a leadership role in providing consultation or services to corporations on child care issues. Instead the void has been filled with a growing number of third-party vendors, many with less expertise than community college faculty and staff. In order to work compatibly within the world of business the community colleges have to learn new vocabularies and priorities while operating within the constraints of the corporate structure.

In failing to market their services as experts in resolving the child care problems of employee-parents, the colleges are "missing the boat" in terms of missed opportunities to create working relationships with the business world and improve their public image. Research has revealed only one college-based model of corporate/college linkage in the area of early childhood education. Yet eight out of thirteen community colleges in Massachusetts have active, vocationally-oriented early childhood education departments, with three more awaiting Stage II approval.

An example of college/corporate collaboration in child care is located in Appalachia, at Winthrop College, Rock Hill, South Carolina (Family Support Systems, November, 1982). There the School of Consumer Science and Allied Professions has established a resource center for information on employer-sponsored child care. During one project undertaken by the center they conducted a feasibility study, gathered technical information about current models of employer-sponsored child care, determined child care needs of working women in South Carolina, and encouraged employers to become involved in meeting the needs of working families. Other project activities

conducted have included the development of an information and promotion package entitled "Child Care and Company" with educational material designed to assist corporations in selecting the child care options appropriate for their firm, and a survey of the needs and attitudes of working women.

Harold Hodgkinson (1983), calls for models of college/corporate collaboration that share physical and human resources. He proposes the bartering (trading) of institutional capacities which he feels contributes to better utilization of nondollar resources. Not every industrial-education partnership need generate a dollar profit for the community college to be considered successful. If the knowledge and skills of college faculty and staff can be increased through a partnership, this staff development can prove extremely profitable. While the college's direct costs need to be met, it is not always necessary to make a profit on collaboration; the increased staff resources are adequate compensation. Hodgkinson points out that a "faculty of 100 members, 80% tenured, with an average age of 35, represents an investment over its 'useful life' of about 90 million dollars, excluding inflation". Through human resource development, such as industry-education partnerships, this investment is increased. Corporate in-service training programs and research have elements which can be useful for college personnel development. When faculty and staff do not increase their knowledge or skills, the college's investment has actually deteriorated, while faculty at other colleges has perhaps been developing.

This type of proactive connection with the community, providing a valuable service to corporations and society, and simultaneously contributing to the knowledge base of the discipline, offers direction as well as a challenge for community colleges with human service programs. Most of the community colleges already have in place Centers for Business and Industry. Each of the community colleges with early childhood programs should be encouraged, through Board of Regents initiatives (in terms of policies and short-term grant

funding), to establish linkages with local businesses to provide technical assistance on a fee-paying or community service basis. Services to the business community could include dissemination of information, consideration of child care options, formulation and conduction of needs assessment, community resource surveys, collaborative efforts with business consortiums, preparation or assistance with budgets, information and referral, and staffing and training responsibilities.

5. Establishment of federal incentive grants for community college/employer child care partnerships, by the Administration for Children, Youth and Families, Office of Human Development Services, Department of Health and Human Services, (under Title VI of the Human Services Reauthorization Act of 1986), modelled on that agency's Child Development Associate (CDA) family day care training grant awards (1986, 1987, 1988) to community colleges would stimulate college outreach efforts and encourage creative solutions to community child care problems. Similar grant awards to encourage college/corporate collaboration could be included in federal Head Start operating funds and refunding of Title XX day care training appropriations. Since state budgets for Higher Education are proscribed from the addition of new faculty these incentive awards serve an important purpose in providing seed money for human service collaborations that might be impossible to fund from the college's O1 account.

6. The Massachusetts FY 89 state budget mandates establishment of child care centers at each of the public colleges. If funding for these facilities becomes a reality guidelines for the population to be served at these centers should include, when paracticable, the working parents at local businesses and industries. In addition sliding fee schedules should be established that fairly reflect the parent's ability to pay. A cohort of community families stabilizes a center's enrollment.

7. The increased demand for child care has created a critical need for more trained child care workers in privately and publicly-funded child care settings. Additionally, training programs are needed to improve the skills of caregivers in center-based and family day care programs, both public and private. Community colleges with early childhood education programs that meet the Office for Children standards for child care teachers are the logical place for expansion of training opportunities. Care must be exercised that the new (1988) Board of Education Teacher Certification standards that specify a Liberal Arts major and a clinical Master's degree, do not discourage students planning to transfer to four year institutions from choosing an Early Childhood major at the community college. The shortage of early childhood caregivers is acute, thus the early childhood courses taken at the community colleges that meet the Office for Children requirements for teachers, should be accepted by four year institutions as part of the credits towards meeting graduation requirements. In order to facilitate transferability of credits the early childhood education programs at the community colleges should go through the Department of Education program approval process.

Summary

In a period of economic growth and relatively full employment and a corresponding drop in the 18-24 year old cohort, corporations, in need of an expanded workforce, have recruited mothers of young children in great numbers. This has resulted in corporate reexamination of policies that affect working parents and a concomitant corporate need for assistance in selecting benefits options appropriate for their firm. The early childhood education programs at the community colleges have many years of experience in assisting families and schools with child care issues, yet they have not, as yet, created valuable linkages to corporations around this service. This paper suggests that a fertile environment currently exists for the development of

collaborations in the human service arena, both with business and the community. The issue of employer-sponsored child care is currently a national concern and linkages to business and the community may involve the community colleges in cooperative education, alternative work settings and consultancies with community child care agencies as well as technical assistance to the business world.

The National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education, in its Ninth Annual Report to the 93rd Congress (1974), called for a greater community dimension for higher education. The report appears to have direct applicability to the current field of child care as represented in the community colleges. It says in part:

"There are few individuals who believe that postsecondary institutions have either the resources or the inclination to solve every problem confronting society. There are equally few who believe that these institutions can do nothing in this regard. Most individuals believe that the ability of postsecondary institutions to aid in the amelioration of community problems is limited. This limited ability depends on a variety of factors: above all, a belief and a commitment that postsecondary institutions have a certain responsibility to apply their resources discretely to problem areas where they make a specific contribution toward solution" (p.5).

This study has identified the need for additional employer-sponsored child care benefits for low-income working women, emphasized the importance of unions in acquiring these benefits at the bargaining table, and attempted to indicate some useful directions for applying the resources of the community colleges to the child care problems of working parents.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Questionnaire

Directions: Please place an X or the appropriate information in the allotted space.

Section One: Background Information

1. Your job title: (1) _____
2. What is the name of your union?(1) _____
3. How long have you worked for this employer?
(1) Under 1 year [] (2) 1 to 5 years [] (3) 5 to 10 years [] (4) Over 10 years []
4. Your age? (1) Under 20 [] (2) 20 to 24 [] (3) 25 to 29 []
(4) 30 to 34 [] (5) 35 to 44 [] (6) 45 and over []
5. Your gender: (1) Female [] (2) Male []
6. Your marital status: (1) Single, Never Married [] (2) Married []
(3) Divorced [] (4) Separated [] (5) Widow []
7. Your salary range: (1) Under \$10,000 [] (2) \$10,000 - 14,999 []
(3) \$15,000 - 19,999 [] (4) \$20,000 - 29,999 []
(5) \$30,000 - 39,999 [] (6) Over \$40,000 []
8. Total family income: (1) Under \$10,000 [] (2) \$10,000 - 14,999 []
(3) \$15,000 - 20,000 [] (4) \$20,000 - 29,999 []
(5) \$30,000 - 39,999 [] (6) Over \$40,000 []
9. Do you have children? (1) Yes [] (2) No []
- 9A. List the ages of your children _____

10. Do you plan to have a child within the next 24 months?
(1) Yes [] (2) No [] (8) Don't know []
11. Highest level of education completed: (1) Grades 1-8 []
(2) Grades 9-11 [] (3) High school diploma [] (4) College []
12. Your racial/ethnic background: (1) White [] (2) Black []
(3) Hispanic [] (4) American Indian []
(5) Asian American [] (6) Other (Please specify) _____
13. Area where you live: (1) City [] (2) Suburb [] (3) Rural []

Section Two: Company Background

Please put an X in the following as it applies to your job.

14. Type of work you do:
(1) Professional, technical or managerial (i.e. teaching) []
(2) Clerical or sales [] (3) Service (i.e. food service) []
(4) Machine trades (i.e. sewing machine operator) []
(5) Manufacturing [] (6) Other [] (describe) _____
15. Type of company or agency or school system:
(1) Public [] (2) Private []
16. Number of employees in company or agency or school system:
(1) Small, under 1,000 [] (2) Medium, 1,000-4,000 []
(3) Medium Large, 4,000-10,000 [] (4) Large, over 10,000 []
17. The majority of workers are:
(1) Female [] (2) Male [] (3) No clear majority []
18. Is your company unionized ?
(1) Yes [] (2) No [] (3) Partially []

19. How important have child care benefits been in your union's collective bargaining efforts?

Circle number 1 to 5

Number 1 = Not important

Number 5 = Very important

1 2 3 4 5

20. Overall, do you like working for your company?

Circle number 1 to 5 Number 1 = Not at all Number 5 = Very much

1 2 3 4 5

Section Three: Child Care Benefits

Please use the following chart to answer the next four questions .

- 21. Which of the following benefits were offered by your employer during the past year? Please check all that are offered by your company.
- 22. Which of the above benefits have you used? Check all in which you participated.
- 23. Is there any child care benefit not presently offered by your employer that you would find helpful in balancing work and family responsibilities? Check all that apply.
- 24. Is there any child care benefit not currently offered by your employer which, if offered, would influence you to remain at your present job? Check all that apply.

Child Care Benefits

Quest. 21
offered

Quest. 22
used

Quest. 23
helpful

Quest. 24
influence

a. flexible work hours				
b. part-time work options				
c. flexible leave days				
d. work-at-home				
e. extension of maternity leave beyond six weeks, (at no salary, guaranteed job upon return)				
f. DCAP (reduction in before-tax salary to cover child care costs; results in tax saving for the employee)				
g. information and counseling about child care - availability, costs, selection				
h. employer-contribution to child care expenses				
i. on-site child care				
j. company support of off-site child care				
k. workplace seminars about family/work problems				
l. none of the above				

25. Would you be willing to support union efforts to gain employer-supported child care benefits, even if you didn't directly benefit at this time?

Yes []

No []

If you do not have children, thank you for your help. Please mail the questionnaire now.

If you have children, use the following chart to answer the next three questions.

26. How important were the employer-supported child care benefits which you used in helping you balance your work and family responsibilities?
27. How important has availability of these benefits been in your decision to remain with your company at this time?
28. How important has using an employer-supported child care benefit been in enabling you to be more productive during work hours?

Circle number 1 to 5 where Number 1= Not Important to Number 5 = Very Important

<u>Importance of Child Care Benefits</u>	<u>Quest. 26 work/family</u>	<u>Quest.27 remain with company</u>	<u>Quest. 28 productivity</u>
a. flexible work hours	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
b. part-time work options	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
c. flexible leave days	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
d. work-at-home	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
e. extension of maternity leave beyond six weeks	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
f. DCAP	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
g. information and counseling about child care	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
h. employer assistance with any child care expenses	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
i. employer support of on-site child care	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
j. employer support of off-site child care	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
k. work and family seminars	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

29. If you did not participate in any employer-supported child care benefits during this past year please check any of the following reasons that apply:

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|---------------------------|-----|
| (1) Didn't need services | [] | (2) No services offered | [] |
| (3) Lack of supervisor support | [] | (4) Not convenient | [] |
| (5) Not the right service | [] | (6) Other (state reasons) | [] |

Reasons _____

30. We would appreciate any further comments you would like to make about employer support of child care benefits.

APPENDIX B

Portuguese Version Of Cover Letter And Questionnaire

22 De Abril De 1987

Como Coordenador do Ensino Pre-Primario em "Massachusetts Bay Community College", estou a fazer uma tese de doutoramento sobre o apoio patronal a assistencia infantil para membros do sindicatos. Muitas companhias oferecem hoje em dia assistencia a infancia, como por exemplo jardins infantis e contribuicao nas despesas com cuidados infantis, mas os patroes muitas vezes nao sabem que beneficios proporcionar. Se as companhias apoiarem a assistencia infantil do modo que esta satisfaca as reais necessidades dos trabalhadores, aumentarao o grau do satisfacao profissional dos empregados e a sua permanencia.

Os pais trabalhadores necessitam da assistencia dos seus patroes na dificil tarefa de conciliarem as exigencias laborais com as responsabilidades familiares. Este inquerito ajudar-nos-a a determinar a assistencia infantil que os trabalhadores preferem no seu sindicato. Os resultados do estudo podem ajudar o seu sindicato no planeamento do negociacoes contratuais e ajudar o seu patroa a satisfazer os pedidos dos trabalhadores sobre assistencia infantil.

A sua resposta e muito importante para o sucesso deste estudo. Complete o questionario junto e envie-o fechado e selado no envelope com a direccao. **POR FAVOR PREENCHA-O QUER TENHA CRIANCAS OU NAO.** Os resultados do estudo serao enviados para o swu sindicator onde os membros poderao conhecer as conclusoes.

Muito obrigado pela sua participacao neste importante trabalho.

Instrucoes: Coloque um X ou responda as informacoes pedidas no respectivo espaço.

Seccao Um: Informacoes Pessoais

1. Nome do emprego: (1) _____
2. Nome do sindicato (1) _____
3. Ha quanto tempo trabalha para este patroa? (1) Ha menos de 1 ano []
(2) 1 a 5 anos [] (3) 5 a 10 anos [] (4) Mais de 10 anos []
4. Idade: (1) Inferior a 20 [] (2) 20 a 24 [] (3) 25 a 29 []
(4) 30 a 34 [] (5) 35 a 44 [] (6) 45 e mais []
5. Sexo: (1) Feminino [] (2) Masculino []
6. Estado civil: (1) Solteiro, nunca casado [] (2) Casado []
(3) Divorciado [] (4) Separado [] (5) Viuvo []
7. Salario: (1) Inferior a \$10,000 [] (2) \$10,000 - 14,999 []
(3) \$15,000 - 19,999 [] (4) \$20,000 - 29,999 []
(5) \$30,000 - 39,999 [] (6) Superior a \$40,000 []
8. Soma do rendimento familiar: (1) Abaixo de \$10,000 []
(2) \$10,000 - 14,999 [] (3) \$15,000 - 20,000 []
(4) \$20,000 - 29,999 [] (5) \$30,000 - 39,999 []
(6) Superior a \$40,000 []
9. Tem filhos? (1) Sim [] (2) Nao []
- 9A. Idade dos filhos: _____
10. Tenciona ter um filho dentro dos proximos 24 meses?
(1) Sim [] (2) Nao [] (3) Nao sabe []
11. Grau de instrucao completo: (1) Graus 1-8 [] (2) Graus 9-11 []
(3) Diploma da escola secundaria [] (4) Grau universitario []

13. Local onde vive: (1) Cidade [] (2) Suburbios [] (3) Campo []

Seccao Dois: Informacoes sobre a companhia

Coloque um X nos espacos correspondentes ao seu emprego.

14. Tipo de trabalho:

- (1) Profissional, tecnico ou administrativo (i.e. ensino) []
 (2) Religioso ou comerciante [] (3) Servicos (i.e. hotelaria) []
 (4) Comercio de maquinas (i.e. tecnico de maquinas de costura) []
 (5) Operario [] (6) Outro [] Especifique _____

16. Numero de empregados na companhia:

- (1) Reduzido, inferior a 1,000 [] (2) Medio, 1,000-4,000 []
 (3) Intermedio, 4,000-10,000 [] (4) Grande, mais de 10,000 []

17. A maioria dos trabalhadores sao do sexo:

- (1) Feminino [] (2) Masculino [] (3) Maioria indefinida []

18. A sua companhia e totalmente sindicalizada?

- (1) Sim [] (2) Nao [] (3) Parcialmente []

19. Importancia das reivindicacoes sindicais relacionadas com a assistencia a infancia.

Coloque um circulo num dos numeros de 1 a 5

Sendo o Numero 1 = Nao importante e o Numero 5 = Muito importante.

1 2 3 4 5

20. Na globalidade, costa de trabalhar para a sua companhia?

Coloque um circulo num dos numeros 1 a 5

sendo o Numero 1 = Nem por isso e o Numero 5 = Muitissimo.

1 2 3 4 5

Seccao Tres: Assistencia Infantil

Use o quadro seguinte para responder as proximas quatro questoes.

21. Quais dos seguintes beneficios foram oferecidos pelo seu patroa durante o ano passado? Assinale todos os que foram proporcionados pela sua companhia.
22. De quais dos beneficios acima citados usufruiu? Assinale todos de que voce beneficiou.
23. Ha algum cuidado infantil nao oferecido presentemente pelo seu patroa que voce considere proveitoso para o equilibrio entre trabalho e vida familiar?
24. Ha algum cuidado infantil nao oferecido normalmente pelo seu patroa, que, se fosse proporcionado, o influenciaria assinale todos os que se apliquem.

Assistencia Infantil

Questao 21
offeredQuest. 22
usedQuest. 23
helpfulQuest. 24
influence

a. Horas de trabalho flexiveis				
b. Opcoes de trabalho em "Part-time"				
c. Dias de lecenca flexiveis				
d. Trabalho em casa				
e. Extensao de licenca de parto para alem de seis semanas (sem remuneracao)				
f. DCAP (Deducao no vencimento iliquido para despesas com cuidados infantis)				
g. Informacao e conselhos sobre assistencia infantil - avaliacao, custos, seleccao				
h. Patrao - contribuicao para desas de assistencia infantil				
i. assistencia infantil na empresa				
j. A companhia subsidia a assistencia infantil fora das suas instalacoes				
k. seminarios no local de trabalho sobre problemas familiares e laborais				
l. Nao assistencia infantil				

25. Would you be willing to support union efforts to gain employer-supported child care benefits, even if you didn't directly benefit at this time? Sim [] Nao []

Use o quadro seguinte para responder as tres proximas questoes. Se nao beneficiou de nenhum cuidada infantil neste ultimo ano selado no envelope com a direccao.

26. Ate que ponto a assistencia infantil oferecida pela entidade patronal, o ajudou a equilibrar o seu trabalho com a vida familiar?
27. Qual a importancia dessa assistencia na sua decisao de permanecer na sua companhia?
28. Qual a importancia que tem tido o servico de assistencia infantil apoiado pela empresa no aumento da sua produtividade durante as horas de trabalho?

Coloque um circulo num dos numeros 1 to 5
sendo o Numero 1= Pouco Importante e o Numero 5 = Muito Importante

Assistencia Infantil

Questao 26

Questao 27

Quest.28

work/family

remain with company

productivity

a. Horas de trabalho flexiveis	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
b. Opcoes de trabalho em "part-time"	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
c. Dias de lecenca flexiveis	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
d. Trabalho em casa	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
e. Extensao da lecenca de parto para alem de seis semanas	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
f. DCAP	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
g. informacao e conselhos sobre cuidados infantis	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
h. Participaca patronal em quaisquer despesas de assistencia infantil	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
i. Assistencia infantil na empresa apoiada pela entidade patronal	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
j. Assistencia infantil fora da empresa apoiada pela entidade patronal	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
k. Seminarios sobre problemas e familiares	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

29. Se não usufruiu de assistência infantil apoiada pela entidade patronal durante o último ano, assinale uma das seguintes razões:

- (1) Não necessitei dos serviços [] (2) Não ofereciam serviços []
(3) Falta o apoio do supervisor [] (4) Não era conveniente convenient []
(5) Não tinham o serviço pretendido [] (6) Outras razões []

Especifique _____

APPENDIX C

Letter To Union Members

April 22, 1987

As the Early Childhood Coordinator at Massachusetts Bay Community College, I am doing doctoral research on employer-supported child care benefits for union members. Many companies are now offering child care benefits, such as child care centers and contributions towards child care expenses, but employers are often confused as to which benefit to provide. If companies provide child care benefits that meet the actual needs of its workers, they will increase employee job-satisfaction and retention.

Working parents need assistance from their employers in the difficult job of balancing work and family responsibilities. This survey will help us determine the child care benefits that workers in your union prefer. The results of the study can aid your union in planning for contract negotiations, and help your employer in responding to worker requests for child care assistance.

Your response is very important if this study is to be successful. Complete the attached questionnaire and return it in the enclosed, stamped, self-addressed envelope. PLEASE FILL IT OUT WHETHER YOU HAVE YOUNG CHILDREN OR NOT. We need it returned by May 15th. The results of the study will be sent to your union so the membership can learn the conclusions.

Thank you so much for your participation in this important work.

Sincerely,

Phyllis Walt

APPENDIX D

Postcard Follow Up

May 20, 1987

Last week a questionnaire seeking your opinion about employer-supported child care benefits was mailed to you. Your name was drawn in a random sample of your union membership list.

If you have already completed and returned it to me please accept my sincere thanks. If not, please do so today. Because it has been sent to only a small, but representative, sample of your union it is extremely important that yours also be included in the study if the results are to accurately represent the opinions of your union membership.

If by some chance you did not receive the questionnaire, or it got misplaced, please call me right now, collect, (617-734-4171) and I will get another one in the mail to you today.

Sincerely,

Phyllis Walt

APPENDIX E

Follow Up Letter

July 11, 1987

Dear Union Member,

About three weeks ago I wrote to ask your opinion about which employer-supported child care benefits you think your union should support. We have not yet received your completed questionnaire.

I have undertaken this study because of my belief that if the company and the union are made aware of the child care benefits most needed by their employees, they may work for employee benefits that best meet these needs.

This letter is to emphasize the importance of each questionnaire to the usefulness of this study. Your name was drawn through a scientific sampling process of the union membership for New England. Only about 200 New England union members are being asked to complete the questionnaire. In order for the results of the study to truly represent the opinions of union members it is essential that each person in the sample return their questionnaire. As mentioned in my last letter PLEASE FILL IT OUT WHETHER YOU HAVE YOUNG CHILDREN OR NOT.

In the event that your questionnaire has been misplaced, a replacement is enclosed.

Thank you so much for your participation in this important work.

Sincerely,

Phyllis Walt

APPENDIX F

Interview Instrument

Please answer each question as completely as possible.

1. Have you had child care responsibilities during your working life?_____ For how many children?_____
2. What child care arrangements have you used?
 - a. family member (husband, mother, sister, aunt)_____
 - b. friend
 - c. neighbor
 - d. child care center
 - e. family day care home
 - f. baby sitter
 - g. combination of _____
3. Did you pay for child care or did family members or friends contribute their services?_____
4. How soon did you come back to work after your baby(ies) were born?

Did you take any additional time off from work (extended maternity leave or personal leave) for child care? _____
If so how much time?_____
5. Were you offered any child care benefits by your company? _____

What were they? _____

(maternity leave, part-time work, flexible work schedule, assistance with child care costs, child care information)

6. Did you ever ask for any time off for child-related matters? _____

Did you get it? _____

7. Did you ever ask for any other assistance with a child-related matter? _____

_____ If not, why not? _____

If you asked for help did you get it? _____

8. Did you ever use sick days for child-related matters? _____

If so, how often? _____

Did your supervisor know? _____

If he/she knew, what would have happened? _____

9. Do you believe your employer should help you with family (child-care) problems like time off for care of sick children, children with doctor appointments, child care arrangements, child care payments, adjusting your work schedule, extended maternity leave? _____

Which ones? _____

Have you ever asked for any of these benefits? _____

If so what happened? _____

10. Did child care problems ever cause you to have problems at work? _____ Explain _____

Did child care problems ever cause you to be less efficient? _____

11. Did child care problems ever make you feel under stress? _____

Explain_____

12. Did you ever spend time at work worrying about your children?_____

Explain_____

13. Has your union worked to get child care benefits at your company?_____ Is your union interested in your child care problems?_____ Explain_____

14. Have you been satisfied with your job?_____ If any (additional) child care benefits were offered by your company would you have been more satisfied with your job?_____ Have If any (additional) child care benefits were offered by your company would you have felt less stress?_____

15. Did you or any of your co-workers ever request that your union try to negotiate for child care benefits?_____ If not, why not?_____ Did other issues (job security, salaries) have a higher priority?_____

16. If your union tried to get child care benefits at your company, were they successful?_____

17. Would you say that your local union is concerned about your work/family problems?_____ Can you talk to them about your problems?_____

18. Would you support your union if they made child care benefits a high priority at the bargaining table or during contract negotiations, even if you wouldn't be able to benefit from them at this time?_____

Explain_____

19. Please comment on your experiences combining work and family responsibilities._____

20. Please comment on what the union could do to assist you to combine work and family responsibilities._____

21. Please comment on what the company could do to assist you to combine work and family responsibilities._____

APPENDIX G

Definition Of Child Care Benefits

DEPENDENT CARE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM (DCAP) - Employer assistance to employees for child care which is not considered by the IRS to be taxable income for the employee, and remains deductible by the employer.

EXTENDED MATERNITY LEAVE - A period of unpaid leave, beyond the six weeks paid maternity leave, with the guarantee of a job upon return.

FAMILY DAY CARE - Child care given by providers, community people who may care for up to six children in their own home.

FLEXIBLE BENEFITS PLAN (CAFETERIA PLAN) - Employer assistance to reduce the after-tax cost of child care for employees. Allows employees to reduce their pay in exchange for non-taxable child care benefits.

FLEXIBLE LEAVE DAYS- Part of yearly vacation leave; may be used as needed.

FLEXTIME - Flexible work hours that allow workers to choose the hours they arrive and the hours they leave, as long as they work the prescribed number of hours per day or week.

INFORMATION, REFERRAL AND COUNSELING SERVICES - Services for parents to receive information and/or referral about available child care in or near their community: hours of operation, cost, type of service and how to evaluate child care programs.

ON-SITE CENTERS - Employer-sponsored child care centers at company location. Employer usually provides start-up costs and may supply part or all of the operating expenses.

SICK CHILD CARE - Employer support for care of children with non-acute illnesses.

WORK AND FAMILY SEMINARS - Parenting workshops at the worksite that assist working parents in a variety of parent-child areas of concern. Designed to reduce the stress and guilt of balancing work and family responsibilities.

WORK-AT-HOME - An arrangement where employees do part or all of their work at home.

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